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“AIDS” TO THE STUDY OF  
THE BIBLE

# THE CATHOLIC STUDENT'S "AIDS" TO THE BIBLE

By VERY REV. HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.M.

Doctor in Sacred Scripture, Member of the Society of  
Biblical Archæology, and late Professor of  
New Testament Exegesis at the Collegio  
Angelico, Rome.

I. THE OLD TESTAMENT. With a Preface by  
His Eminence Cardinal BOURNE. Second Edi-  
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CATHOLIC STUDENT'S  
“AIDS”

TO THE  
STUDY OF THE BIBLE

BY

HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.M., D.S.Scr.

LATE PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS IN THE COLLEGIO ANGELICO,  
ROME

WITH PREFACE BY  
CARDINAL GASQUET, O.S.B.

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CENSOR DEPUTATUS.

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WESTMONASTERII,

Die 11 Julii, 1918.

“Quod loqui nobis dignatus est debemus credere, quia voluit ut intelligamus. Sed si non possumus, præstat intellectum rogatus, Qui Verbum præstitit non rogatus.”

ST. AUGUSTINE: *Tractatus XXII. 1 in Joannem.*

“Meum propositum est Antiquos legere, probare singula; retinere quæ bona sunt; et a Fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ non recedere.”

ST. JEROME: *Ep. cxix.*

“Scientia pietatis: nosse *Legem*, intelligere *Prophetas*, *Evangeliiis* credere, *Apostolos* non ignorare.”

ST. JEROME: *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum i. 1.*



*From the Offices of the Secretary of State to His Holiness,  
The Vatican, May 24th, 1919.*

TO THE VERY REV. FATHER HUGH POPE, O.P.

VERY REV. FATHER,

The devoted and filial homage which you have exhibited in humbly presenting to this August See the two volumes you have recently published entitled "The Catholic Student's 'Aids' to the Study of the Bible" has proved peculiarly pleasing and acceptable to the Roman Pontiff.


The deep and varied knowledge of the Bible which you have been able to set forth with remarkable clearness, while, at the same time, condensing it in masterly fashion into a relatively small number of pages; the zeal and care where-with you have sought to discover, and set out in clear relief the mind of the Church on each question—all combine to make your work one of no small utility, and this especially for those who, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, desire to take up Biblical studies. Even those already well versed in such studies will be glad to have the results of your studies placed at their disposal.

The Holy Father, then, while rejoicing at the favourable reception which these volumes of "Aids" have already met with at the hands of the educated public, warmly congratulates you on this most useful publication and bestows on it his heartfelt blessing. Further, he sincerely hopes that your learned and most opportune work will find its place in people's libraries and will be studied and consulted by all those who desire to make themselves acquainted with the Scriptures and to learn, or at least recall to mind, how to meet the difficulties that may arise, how to interpret a passage, and how to grasp the historical or dogmatic import of each Book of the Bible.

And I myself, to whom falls the pleasant task of communicating to you these kindly words of the Supreme Pontiff, most gladly sign myself with all expressions of esteem for yourself,

Yours most sincerely in Christ,

P. CARD. GASPARRI,



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## PREFACE

By CARDINAL GASQUET

I HAVE been asked by Father Pope to write a few words of *Preface* to this new part of his *Aids to the Study of the Bible*. I do so with pleasure if only to show my personal appreciation of his work, and my admiration of the abundant knowledge of Biblical literature which is evidenced in his pages. I do not, however, think that the present volume really stands in need of any introduction. It is the second of the series of "Aids" which the author has given us, and I feel sure that all who have read the first part—dealing with the Old Testament—will give a cordial welcome to its successor. They already know the value of the help afforded by Father Pope's full knowledge of the Text of the Holy Scriptures, his firm grasp of the various modern difficulties regarding Holy Writ and his clear exposition of the truth of Catholic teaching. They thus know what to look for in the present volume, which deals with the Holy Gospels, and I confidently predict that after reading it they will not be disappointed. In these busy days some such work as this for the use of Catholic priests, teachers, and for Catholic readers generally is a real blessing. Few even of the clergy have the leisure or the opportunity to study the many questions as to the Holy Bible, which are constantly appearing in various guises, and yet most of us feel that we ought to know what is the strength or weakness of this or that objection and be able to give some account of "the faith that is in us."

The facts narrated in the Gospels are "as well authenticated and as well attested to as are the best established facts of any human history. They are books of theology containing dogmatic and moral principles, doctrines, and laws; and hence from them a great portion of our technical and scientific theology is drawn. Finally, the Gospels are books of piety and devotion, for in them we see the God-man manifesting to us by word and example the life of the spirit in action, wrought to its highest perfection. These are the reasons why the faithful servants of Christ and His Church have ever read, studied, and loved the sacred pages of the Gospels."<sup>1</sup>

Because this is so, it is worth any trouble thoroughly and intelligently to enter into the meaning of the Sacred Text. But some Catholics have such a reverence for the Word of God that they sometimes appear to hesitate to bring in external aids, even in order to penetrate more thoroughly into the meaning of the Word of God. This is obviously a mistaken notion, for the more deeply we enter into the study the more effect the teachings of Holy Writ have over our minds. Non-Catholics have long had such manuals to assist the student, and in this volume Father Pope furnishes us with a work of great excellence, which not only compares most favourably with them, but with a mass of apt quotations from the Fathers of the Church illustrates Catholic teaching in many important matters, such as, for example, the composition of the Canon of the Scriptures accepted by the Church as inspired writings and the veraciousness of the history of our Lord as told by the Evangelists.

In these manuals of Father Pope, then, we have exactly the very thing we need. They are in every sense real "Aids," and I believe that they may well find a place on the tables of priests alongside of the indispensable *Enchiridion* of Denziger. Father Pope has studied these questions most

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Gospels*, Rev. C. J. Callan, O.P. (Preface, p. vii).



thoroughly, and we may profitably and safely take him as our guide and teacher.

But there is in this volume, as in its predecessor, much more than the help necessary to answer difficulties; in fact, this is a secondary object altogether. The chief intention of the author is to help us to understand and appreciate Holy Scripture for its own sake. For this reason in the present volume the actual treatment of the Gospels is preceded by several chapters of useful information. We are first given a very clear, brief, but readable account of the history of the Jewish people from 150 B.C. to 70 A.D., which furnishes the almost necessary setting to the Gospel story. The value of this is greatly increased by Tables of the Roman Procurators in Palestine and general Chronological Tables for the same period. In the second chapter we may learn all about the numerous divisions which existed in Jewish life in the time of our Blessed Lord; such, for example, as Pharisees and Sadducees and Publicans, and we have a clear account of such expressions as Sanhedrin, Synagogue, the Tribute, etc., etc.

This chapter is followed by others dealing with the Geography of Palestine, the languages spoken in the country in the time of Christ, etc. This brings us to a general consideration of the New Testament, in which is treated fully the Canon—or the Books admitted by the Church as belonging to the Inspired Scriptures. An admirably drawn up Table showing what Books of the New Testament were known and quoted by the Apostolic Fathers follows. This with its notes is especially valuable to every student of the Sacred Text. A large section is then devoted to a description of the Texts and Versions of the New Testament and a clear exposition of the various phases of Textual Criticism. All this and much more is but the preparation for Father Pope's "Aids" to each of the Four Gospels. Each one of these four sections is a model of conciseness and lucidity.

In them we find all that any student can want to help him to understand and appreciate the various Gospels. To take the Gospel of St. Matthew as an example, we have sections dealing with the *Life* of the Evangelist, the authenticity of the Gospel, its historical trustworthiness, with a discussion of recent views and a treatment of the question of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Then we are given the divisions and Analysis of the Gospel, the passages peculiar to St. Matthew, the theological teaching to be found in it, etc.

With full confidence, then, I wish this useful manual every success, and I am sure that those who will make use of it will feel as grateful to Father Pope for all his trouble—and that cannot have been slight—in giving us these “Aids” as I do myself.

AIDAN CARDINAL GASQUET.

ROME,

July 7, 1918.

## INTRODUCTION

A SECOND volume rarely calls for any introductory words. But it seems necessary to explain how it comes to pass that this volume differs so largely from its predecessor. The reader may well be astonished to find that whereas the first volume treated of the entire Old Testament within the space of some four hundred odd pages, the same amount of space is here devoted to the Four Gospels and the introductory matter. And certainly it had been our intention to comprise the whole of the New Testament within the space of one volume. But as the work proceeded it grew in bulk until it became evident that the intended "second" volume would demand a third. The truth is that the New Testament is much more "actual"—if we may use such an expression—than the Old. It is much more familiar to us and its problems are therefore of greater interest. Moreover it has been much more closely studied than has the Old Testament, and the monthly and quarterly output of Biblical literature shews how complicated some of the problems presented by the New Testament have become. Further, while the Old Testament is the necessary basis for the New, which is unintelligible without it, yet the New Testament is the immediate foundation of the Christian faith and hence has had—far more than the Old—to withstand the shock of intense critical examination. It is unfortunately true that very few have the leisure or the ability to do more than take their Biblical criticism at second hand, with the inevitable result that many imagine that the foundations of the New Testament have been sorely shaken in their passage through the mill of hostile

criticism. But the best solvent for critical theories is the New Testament itself, and even those whose work is of the most mechanical type, those namely who are occupied with the mere text itself, find that the priceless volume becomes more priceless the more it is studied. This has been well expressed by one who deserves well of all future students of the New Testament: "It is always the New Testament itself that calls the man of research back from his wandering thoughts to work on the New Testament again. Daily it bears witness to him of its own veriest nature: the little Book is not one of the paralyzing and enslaving forces of the past, but it is full of eternal strength to make strong and to make free"<sup>1</sup>

The method followed in this volume will be clear from the *Table of Contents*. Preliminary questions of history and geography prepare the way for the study of the Gospels themselves, while a more immediate preparation for such study is furnished in the pages which treat of the language of the New Testament, of its Canon, its text and the versions of this latter. Throughout we have taken for our guides the Fathers of the Church. We have quoted them largely and, as some may think, at excessive length. In the Old Testament volume we did this sparingly and we must confess that we were surprised to find Catholic reviewers who demurred to this, though it was no marked feature of that volume. Yet no student of the writings of the Fathers but must acknowledge their profundity and must perforce allow that he has found these same Fathers most surprisingly modern, we had almost said "up to date," in their views. Moreover these Fathers are the acknowledged teachers and "Doctors" of the Church; they embody that stream of tradition which "makes glad the City of God." Their function in these days is—if we may so express it—to serve as a corrective for the less mature criticism which an age of haste has been too ready to take as the "last word" and to which the ill-starred epithet "epoch-making" is too readily applied. Catholic Commentaries on the Books of the New Testament are as yet all too few, and we are compelled to have recourse to writers whose thoughts are

<sup>1</sup> Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 2nd ed., Tübingen, 1909, English translation, 1910, p. 419.



not our thoughts and whose principles are rather fluid than stable. Our debt to them, especially in England, is immense, and their work is, for the most part stamped with an air of reverence which is a guarantee for sobriety of judgment. But this must not blind us to their limitations. These critics have no abiding foundations; their work is always subjective; tradition means little or nothing to them. For us Holy Scripture must always remain the "dead letter" calling for the living voice of God's Church for its quickening interpretation. For non-Catholic critics too Holy Scripture is—though they do not admit it—the "dead letter," but theirs is the voice which shall quicken it into life. As a necessary consequence generations of such critics come and go and their boast might almost seem to be that they "build on no other man's foundation" but each ploughs his own individual furrow, each endeavours to rear his own independent building. Hence the all too familiar phenomenon of men whose earlier work was marked by that sobriety of judgment which results from reverence but whose later work is obscured by a subjectivism arising from uncorrected absorption in views which have grown upon them and to which they have found no tempering corrective in the voices of tradition, of antiquity, and above all of authority.

One ill-natured reviewer remarked of the first volume that it was an ill-digested mass of learning so badly arranged that it was impossible to find anything in it! It is quite possible that the same condemnation may be passed upon this volume since, in our endeavour to do justice to some of the problems which present themselves, we may have entered too fully into detail to please the less learned, and may have failed to satisfy the demands of those who looked for a fuller discussion. But he who would steer clear of Scylla must needs run the danger of falling into Charybdis!

The next volume, or more correctly—the second part of the second volume—will deal with the remainder of the Books of the New Testament and will appear shortly.

In the case of most sections a bibliographical list is appended unless most of the works have been already men-

tioned in the body of the section. It will be noticed that we give very frequent references to the *Revue Biblique*, it is the great Catholic Biblical review and it is to be regretted that it is not so well known as it should be.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

*P.L. Patrologia Latina*, ed. Migne. The figures refer to the columns and not to the pages.

*P.G. Patrologia Græca*, ed. Migne. Origen's works are sometimes quoted from the edition by Delarue.

*R.B. Revue Biblique*, published by Gabalda, Paris.

*J.T.S. The Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford and Cambridge.

*H.D.B. Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible.*

*E.B. The Encyclopædia Biblica.*

*E.E.F. The Annual Reports of the Egypt Exploration Fund.* These Reports are now merged in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, published from the Offices of the Fund in Great Russell Street, W.

*P.E.F. The Quarterly Reports of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*, 2, Hinde Street, Manchester Square, W.

*Ant.*, i.e. Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*.

*B.J. Josephus' De Bello Judaico.*

*H.J.P. Schurer's History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* Since the English translation in Clark's Library appeared the German work has gone through several editions, and many changes of opinion have to be recorded.

Other books and reviews are referred to by their full title.

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## CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MACCABEAN RULE TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM, 142 B.C. TO A.D. 70.

### A. The Maccabean Period, 142-63 B.C.

- i. Hyrcanus I., 135-105 B.C.
- ii. Aristobulus I., 105 B.C.
- iii. Alexander Janneus, 104-78 B.C.
- iv. Alexandra, 78-69 B.C.
- v. Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II., 69-63 B.C.

### B. The Jews vassals of the Romans, 63 B.C. to A.D. 6.

- i. Hyrcanus II. made High Priest; Antipater becomes Procurator of Judæa; his sons, Phasælus and Herod, become Governors respectively of Jerusalem and Galilee.
- ii. Herod and Phasælus become Tetrarchs.
- iii. Herod the Great becomes King of Judæa, (40) 37-4 B.C.
- iv. Archelaus, his son, is made Ethnarch, 4 B.C. to A.D. 6.

C. Judæa is governed by Roman Procurators for the first time, A.D. 6-37.

D. Herod Agrippa II. becomes King successively of the Tetrarchies of Philip, Lysanias and Antipas, and of the Kingdom of Herod the Great, A.D. 37-44.

E. Judæa is again governed by Roman Procurators, A.D. 44-70.

### F. The Family of the Herods.

G. A Table of the Roman Emperors : Julius Cæsar, 48 B.C. ; Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 180.

H. Table of the Roman Procurators in Judæa.

I. Chronological Tables, 150 B.C. to A.D. 70.

DURING some forty years the sons of Mathathias—namely, Judas, Jonathan, and Simon—had striven to throw off the Seleucidan yoke under which they had fallen after the break-up of Alexander’s Empire. At last, under Simon, they won independence (1 Macc. xiii. 42) in the year 142 B.C. These Maccabean or Hasmonean princes united in their own persons the kingly and the priestly powers, and thus fulfilled, at least in part, the prophecy of Zach. vi. 11-14, and of Ps. cix. Everything conspired to predict a glorious future for the Jewish nation; their ancient enemies, Babylon and Assyria, were no more; the Seleucidan Empire was broken by hopeless intestinal divisions; the Ptolemaic Kingdom was in the same predicament. On the north, indeed, were the hordes of Parthia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, but Rome held these in check and was fully occupied in so doing. On the east, too, were the Arabians, but they were as yet of small importance.

#### A. The Maccabean Period, 142-63 B.C.

i. The **First Book of Maccabees** closes with an account of the glories of the reign of Simon the Maccabee; he had made an alliance with the Romans, he was courted by Demetrius II. and Antiochus VII., Sidetes, he was accepted by the people as *prince and high priest till a faithful prophet should arise* (xiv. 41); and Antiochus had even given him leave to wear purple and gold, to coin his own money, to retain Jerusalem and the fortresses he had won (xv. 6-8). But the Seleucidan soon broke his oath, and war began afresh. In the course of the campaign Ptolemy, son-in-law to Simon, treacherously murdered him with two of his sons;<sup>1</sup> his third son, John, known as Hyrcanus, succeeded him, 135-105 B.C. Hyrcanus’ reign was a glorious one. At first he was besieged in Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes who, however, treated him with extraordinary moderation, and even entered into a league with him.<sup>2</sup> Hyrcanus accompanied Antiochus in an expedition against the Parthians, and, apparently to provide funds for this purpose, ventured to open David’s tomb and extract from it 3,000 talents; he also was the first to employ mercenary soldiers. It is re-

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIII. vii. 3-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 2-3.

markable that Josephus seems to see nothing reprehensible in these two facts.<sup>1</sup> On the death of Antiochus the Seleucid Empire was torn asunder by factions, and, though one of the parties called in the aid of the reigning Ptolemy VII., surnamed Physcon, Hyrcanus himself was left at peace. He took this opportunity to subdue Samaria and Idumæa, and to renew his league with the Romans, who granted him possession of Joppe, the seaport always so coveted by the Jews.<sup>2</sup> Religious dissensions, however, came to disturb the peace of his reign. The Pharisees apparently disliked his retention of the High Priesthood, and this threw Hyrcanus into the hands of the Sadducees.<sup>3</sup> Josephus concludes his account of his reign by saying: "He was esteemed by God worthy of three privileges—the government of his nation, the dignity of the High Priesthood, and prophecy."<sup>4</sup> Hyrcanus was succeeded by his son—

ii. Aristobulus I., who reigned only a year. His character appears to have been naturally good, but he allowed himself to be led away by jealousy of his brother Antigonus, whom he caused to be foully murdered. Unlike his father Hyrcanus, Aristobulus aspired to be a King, and actually wore a diadem.<sup>5</sup>

iii. Alexander Janneus, 104-78 B.C., succeeded; he was a son of Hyrcanus I. His reign was spent in wars; he began by besieging Ptolemais on the sea-coast; this brought him into conflict with Ptolemy Lathyrus, who had been driven to Cyprus by his mother Cleopatra, and who now overran the whole of Palestine. Cleopatra, however, came to the assistance of Alexander. Freed from this anxiety, Alexander invaded Coelesyria as well as Philistia, Moab, and Gilead.<sup>6</sup> This brought him into conflict with the Arabians at whose hands he suffered a grievous defeat.<sup>7</sup> These continual wars, as well, perhaps, as his defeats and his employment of mercenaries from Pisidia and Cilicia, brought him into disfavour with his own nation; he was not slow to repay them by a cruel slaughter of the Jews who had insulted him on the feast of Tabernacles. According to Josephus, Alexander warred with the Jews of Jerusa-

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIII. viii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 1-3; x. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, x. 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 and *Wars*, I. ii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xi. 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xli-xliii. and *Wars*, I. ii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xliii. 3.

lem for six years, and slew no less than 50,000 of them.<sup>1</sup> The Jews retaliated by bringing in Demetrius of Syria. Alarmed, however, at the latter's success, many of the Jews returned to their allegiance, and with their assistance Alexander returned to Jerusalem and celebrated his triumph by the most atrocious barbarities. Antiochus of Syria now came against him, and Alexander endeavoured to stay his progress by what must be accounted an extraordinary feat of engineering, for he dug a trench from Antipatris (Caphar-Saba) to Joppe.<sup>2</sup> This, however, did not stop the Syrian King, though he was slain immediately afterwards by Aretas, the Arabian, who took possession of Damascus and Cœle-syria. As the result of Alexander's wars the Jews now possessed nearly the whole of the sea-coast from Carmel to Gaza; also Mount Tabor and Scythopolis, as well as much of the district to the east of Jordan.<sup>3</sup> Alexander was succeeded by his widow—

iv. Alexandra, 78-69 B.C. His own nation had hated Alexander, and his wife was terrified at the prospect that lay before her, but Alexander advised her to “put the authority into the hands of the Pharisees . . . for this would reconcile the nation to her.”<sup>4</sup> This the Queen did; she made her eldest son Hyrcanus High Priest, and “she indeed had the name of Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority,”<sup>5</sup> or, as Josephus elsewhere expresses it more strongly still: “These Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of public affairs; . . . they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and the difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra.”<sup>6</sup> The Queen kept large hosts of mercenaries, so that the country was at peace, “excepting the Pharisees, for they disturbed the Queen.”<sup>7</sup> The demands of the Pharisees and their cruelties towards all who opposed them provoked the wrath of Aristobulus, Alexandra's second son, who reproached her bitterly for her “mad ambition to reign when there were sons in the flower of their age who were fitter for it.”<sup>8</sup> The Armenians under Tigranes invaded Syria, but as the

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xv. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Wars*, I. v. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xvi. 2

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. 3.



Romans in their pursuit of Mithridates ravaged Armenia, Tigranes was compelled to turn back after taking Ptolemais.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after this Aristobulus took advantage of his mother's ill-health to usurp practically royal authority. In the midst of the ensuing disturbances Alexandra died.

"She was a woman," says Josephus, "who showed no signs of the weakness of her sex, for she was sagacious to the greatest degree in her ambition of governing . . . and preferred the power of an imperious dominion above all things, and in comparison of that had no regard to what was good or what was right. . . . However, she preserved the nation in peace."<sup>2</sup>

v. On the death of Alexandra the country was plunged into civil war, for while Hyrcanus desired to retain the High Priesthood, Aristobulus desired the kingship. If they had been left to themselves they would perhaps have been able to continue in peace in their respective domains. But there now came upon the scene a man who must be regarded as the bane of Palestine. This was Antipater, the son of an Antipater whom Alexander Janneus had appointed Governor of Idumæa. Antipater the son saw that Hyrcanus was a weak character, and he therefore determined to pit him against Aristobulus. For this purpose he arranged a league between Hyrcanus and Aretas, King of the Arabians, and together they made an assault on Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Both parties made the fatal mistake of appealing to Scaurus, Pompey's legate in Syria,<sup>4</sup> and each offered him 400 talents as a bribe. But the Roman took the side of Aristobulus, and bade Aretas and his Nabatæans depart, under pain of incurring the displeasure of the Romans. Aristobulus, however, could not settle down, and shortly afterwards both parties appealed again, this time to Pompey in person at Damascus.<sup>5</sup> Pompey promised to arrange affairs, but told them for the present to depart in peace. Aristobulus was impatient, however, and his action provoked Pompey, who promptly marched into Judæa and laid siege to Jerusalem, which he took by storm in the autumn of 63 B.C. Though Pompey entered into the Holy of Holies he declined to touch the Temple treasury, and even restored the High Priesthood to Hyrcanus; Aristobulus he

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xvi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. i. 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 3.

took with him to Rome. Josephus' words at this juncture are worth quoting in full :

“ He (Pompey) made Jerusalem tributary to the Romans, and took away those cities of Cœlesyria which the inhabitants of Judæa had subdued, and he put them under the government of the Roman President, and confined the whole nation, which had elevated itself so high before, within its own bounds. Moreover, he rebuilt Gadara . . . and restored Hippos and Scythopolis, and Pella and Dios and Samaria, as also Marissa and Ashdod, and Jamnia and Arethusa, to their own inhabitants. . . . Also, of the maritime cities, Gaza, and Joppe, and Dora, and Strato's tower, which Herod rebuilt after a glorious manner, and adorned with havens and temples and changed its name to Cæsarea. All these Pompey left in a state of freedom, and joined them to the Province of Syria. . . . Now we lost our liberty and became subject to the Romans, and were deprived of that country which we had gained by our arms from the Syrians, and were compelled to restore it to the Syrians.”<sup>1</sup>

## B. The Jews vassals of the Romans, 63 B.C. to A.D. 6.

i. In the year 65 B.C. the Seleucidan Empire came to an end, and Syria was transformed into a Roman Province ; two years later, as we have seen, the civil war between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, fomented by Antipater, had resulted in an appeal to the Romans, with the result that Pompey removed Aristobulus, and declared Hyrcanus II. High Priest, without any kingly power, in 63 B.C. This office he retained till his death in 40 B.C.<sup>2</sup> But the real ruler of Judæa was Antipater. For Alexander and Antigonus, sons of Aristobulus II., kept the country in a ferment, so that even Gabinius, the President of Syria, who had established Hyrcanus in Jerusalem, and had divided Palestine into five toparchies<sup>3</sup> under as many Councils, which sat at Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus, Jericho, and Sepphoris, was obliged to call in the assistance of Antipater.<sup>4</sup> Gabinius was now succeeded by Crassus, who with Cæsar and Pompey formed the famous Triumvirate. On his way to his Province Crassus did what Pompey had abstained from doing—he stripped the Temple treasury.<sup>5</sup> After the slaughter of Crassus and the Roman troops by the Parthians, the command in Syria fell to Cassius Longinus ; and he, too, found a useful ally in Antipater who at the same time

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIV. xiv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 1.

discovered means whereby to ingratiate himself with the Arabians. On the final rupture between Cæsar and Pompey, the former released Aristobulus from the prison where he had languished so long and sent him back to Palestine, but he fell into the hands of the Pompeian faction, and was immediately poisoned, 49 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

In the following year the battle of Pharsalia sealed Pompey's fate, and he perished miserably on the shore near Alexandria. Antipater, with his usual shrewdness, seized his opportunity, and came to the support of Cæsar in his pursuit; nor did he come alone, for he brought with him Mithridates, King of Pergamus, Jamblicus, the ruler of Syria, as well as other potentates from the north. The victory gained by Mithridates was largely owing to Antipater's efforts, and he was rewarded by being made a Roman citizen, and declared exempt from all taxes. Such was his influence over Hyrcanus that he induced him to accompany him on this expedition to Egypt.<sup>2</sup> This politic action of Antipater's stood him in good stead when, shortly afterwards, Antigonus, son of Aristobulus II., impeached Antipater, and also his own uncle Hyrcanus, to Cæsar, for Cæsar dismissed the charge, made Hyrcanus High Priest, and offered Antipater the choice of any position he pleased. He chose to be made *Procurator of Judæa*.<sup>3</sup> His policy is well summed up in the words which he addressed to the Jews when he returned to Jerusalem with Hyrcanus, for he told them that they would be wise to accept him as a gentle governor rather than a severe master, and to accept Hyrcanus as a King rather than a tyrant, and the Romans as rulers instead of bitter enemies.<sup>4</sup> He then raised up the walls of Jerusalem thrown down by Pompey in 63, and appointed his sons—

ii. Phasælus as Governor of Jerusalem, and Herod as Governor of Galilee. "This conduct," says Josephus, "procured for Antipater from the nation such respect as is due to Kings, and such honours as he might partake of if he were an absolute lord of the country."<sup>5</sup> From this time onwards Herod is the chief figure in Palestinian politics. He annoyed the people by putting robbers to death without

*Ant.* XIV. vii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

the sanction of the Sanhedrin, but on being summoned before them he overawed them by his regal appearance. Herod knew, too, that he had at his back the Roman authority in the person of Sextus Cæsar, the President of Syria. Indeed, we can find no better instance of the sway held by the Romans over Palestine than in the action of this President, for he sent to Hyrcanus to tell him not to allow Herod to be convicted by the Sanhedrin, but to see that he was dismissed at his trial, as was actually done. But Herod never forgave the slight thus put upon him by the Jews; at a later period he put to death all the members of this Sanhedrin save one, who had been most outspoken in his condemnation.<sup>1</sup> Herod knew well the power of money. Again and again we find him reaching his goal by a judicious distribution of bribes; thus he bribed Sextus Cæsar to make him General of the Army in Cœlesyria,<sup>2</sup> and when, on the murder of Cæsar, Cassius imposed a heavy tribute on Palestine in order to raise an army, Herod was the first to extort the sum required from Galilee. Thus, says Josephus, "he was in the greatest favour with Cassius, for he thought it a part of prudence to cultivate a friendship with the Romans, and to gain their good-will at the expense of others."<sup>3</sup> About 43 B.C. Antipater fell a victim to the jealousy of Malichus, one of the Jewish commanders. But Herod's revenge was prompt. Hyrcanus himself seems to have been implicated in this conspiracy, but Herod could not afford to break with him, for Hyrcanus was the sole relic of the Hasmonean dynasty, and, as such, held a peculiar influence over the people; moreover, Herod was at that time espoused to Mariamne, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus.<sup>4</sup>

In 42 B.C. the battle of Philippi resulted in a nominal partition of power between Octavian (the future Cæsar Augustus) and Mark Antony, the former taking the west, the latter the east. On Antony's arrival in Bithynia the Jews sent ambassadors to complain of Herod and his brother Phasælus. "Hyrcanus," they said, "had all the appearance of reigning, but these men had all the power."<sup>5</sup> Herod's money, however, turned the scale in his favour.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIV. ix. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.



But the Jews persisted, and when Antony came to Syria another embassy was sent to appeal against Herod, with the result that Herod and Phasælus were made Tetrarchs.<sup>1</sup> Still another attempt was made when Antony came to Tyre, but Herod's bribes once more proved effective. A sudden invasion of the Parthians, however, very nearly proved Herod's undoing, for Hyrcanus and Phasælus were made prisoners by treachery, and only Herod's astuteness, combined with that of Mariamne his espoused wife, "whom he believed in as a woman of very great wisdom," saved him from a similar fate. As it was, he had to fly by night to Idumæa and to Petra, lodging his women-folk in the fortress of Masada. The Parthians meanwhile reinstated Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, in Judæa, and he, in order to preclude his uncle Hyrcanus from being ever again High Priest, clipped off his ears, and thus rendered him ineligible for the post (see Lev. xxi. 17-24).<sup>2</sup> Herod then fled southwards to Egypt by Rhinocoloura, Pelusium, and Alexandria. Here he took ship for Rome by Pamphylia and Rhodes, where he was wrecked. Arrived in Rome, he laid his case before Antony, and added a convenient bribe, with the result that within seven days he left Italy with the title of king granted him by Antony and Cæsar, and ratified by the Senate.<sup>3</sup>

His march through Palestine was a triumphal progress. He landed at Ptolemais, speedily won the whole of Galilee, took Joppe, and then marched on Jerusalem. His Roman allies were not too keen, however, and insisted on going into winter quarters. Herod meanwhile was not idle, but proceeded to crush out all rebellion in Galilee as well as to capture Jericho.<sup>4</sup> Still, it took him three years to establish himself in Jerusalem, previous to the final siege of which he retired to Samaria in order to marry Mariamne, to whom he had been so long engaged.<sup>5</sup> The city fell at last, and the Roman forces, combined with those of Herod, poured in. Antigonus, who on Herod's first appearance before the walls three years before had taunted him as being only half a Jew, and really an Idumæan, was now taunted by the Roman General Sosius as Antigone, and not Antigonus—that is, as a woman and not a man—and he was led back to

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIV. xiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii. 1-10.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xv. 4; *Wars*, I. xvi. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XIV. xv. 14; *Wars*, I. xvii. 8.

Rome, where he was put to death. Once more it was Herod's lavish use of bribes which brought this about. Josephus concludes this portion of his history by saying :

“Thus did the government of the Hasmoneans cease, a hundred and twenty-six years after it was first set up. This family was a splendid and illustrious one, both on account of the nobility of their stock and of the dignity of the High Priesthood, as also for the glorious actions their ancestors had performed for our nation. But these men lost the government by their dissensions one with another, and it came to Herod, the son of Antipater, who was of no more than a vulgar family, and of no eminent extraction, but one that was subject to other Kings.”<sup>1</sup>

iii. **Herod the Great**, (40) 37-4 B.C. We have already seen how Herod literally hewed his way to the kingship. His faults are clear; he was ambitious of power, he was unscrupulous in the means he adopted in order to obtain it, he bribed largely, he was astute and foreseeing. But at the same time, it would be short-sighted not to allow him the possession of certain striking qualities; his courage was undeniable, and this not merely in battle, but also in face of dangers which might have daunted a man of lesser mould. He had also the merit of being faithful to those who had befriended him. His affection, too, for his mother<sup>2</sup>—and this at a time when many in high places were conspicuous examples to the contrary—should not be forgotten. But once secure of his position, his good qualities were speedily obscured by his vices.

The Parthians, who still held possession of the High Priest Hyrcanus II., released him shortly after Herod's accession, and the latter persuaded him to come and live with him. Hyrcanus could not, however, by reason of his mutilation, be any longer High Priest, hence Herod sent for a certain Ananelus from Babylon, one of the old High-Priestly stock, and conferred the dignity upon him.<sup>3</sup> This aroused the wrath of one of the most dangerous of women, Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus and mother of Herod's wife Mariamne. She at once wrote to the all-powerful Cleopatra, asking her to obtain the High Priesthood for her son Aristobulus. Herod was induced to yield; but when the young Aristobulus won the hearts of all by his dignity

*Ant.* XIV. xvi. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XV. ii. 4.

when officiating as High Priest, Herod contrived to have him drowned.<sup>1</sup> This was his first great crime within his own family, and from it sprang all his subsequent series of inhuman murders. Antony summoned him to give an account of his action—a significant proof of the subordinate position held by Herod—but money once more proved all-powerful, so that Antony not only exonerated him, but actually dared to tell Cleopatra “that it would be best for her not to meddle with the acts of the King’s government.”<sup>2</sup> Antony at the same time involved Herod in a war with the Arabians who, though defeated at first, plucked up courage on hearing of the defeat of Antony at the battle of Actium, 31 B.C. Herod, however, ultimately defeated them, and took occasion of a rumoured conspiracy between the deposed High Priest, Hyrcanus II., and these Arabians to have Hyrcanus put to death.<sup>3</sup> Hyrcanus thus out of the way, Herod hastened to make peace with Cæsar, and here he showed his usual adroitness, for Herod had all along befriended Antony; indeed, he had gathered a number of men to assist the latter in his struggle with Cæsar. Fortunately, however, Antony had declined this help, and had dispatched these forces under Herod against the Arabians. But Herod put a bold face on the matter, and, taking off his diadem in the presence of Cæsar at Rhodes, he told him that he had always been Antony’s friend; at the same time he ventured to propose himself to Cæsar as a useful friend and ally. This frankness did not fail of its purpose, and Cæsar restored to him his diadem and accompanied him on his way to Egypt. At the same time Cæsar gave him Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria, as well as the maritime cities of Gaza, Anthedon, Joppe, and Strato’s Tower.<sup>4</sup>

But while Herod’s external affairs thus prospered, it was far otherwise with his family affairs. For the palace was the scene of endless jealousies, most of which were fostered by Herod’s sister Salome. These jealousies so worked upon the King that he actually put to death his beloved wife Mariamne, the granddaughter of Hyrcanus, through whom he had contracted affinity with the Hasmonean

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XV. iii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7, vii. 3; *Wars*, I. xx. 2.

race.<sup>1</sup> Nor, in spite of his remorse for this crime, did he stop here. He proceeded to put to death many more of the Hasmonean stock, so that Josephus remarks that "there were now none at all left of the kindred of Hyrcanus, and the kingdom was entirely in Herod's power, so that there was nobody remaining of such dignity as could put a stop to what he did against the Jewish laws."<sup>2</sup> His complete subjection to the Romans also gave offence to the Jews, for he not only courted the Romans, but introduced their luxurious way of living into Judæa. Thus, he introduced games in honour of Cæsar, he built a theatre and an amphitheatre and inaugurated chariot-races, and all this on a most sumptuous scale.<sup>3</sup> His passion for building was insatiable. He fortified the castle of Antonia, he rebuilt Samaria and called it Sebaste, and he established fortified places at various spots as a safeguard against the possible uprising of the people. But more than all, he rebuilt Strato's Tower and called it Cæsarea. The magnificence of this new city and of the marvellous harbour Herod formed there filled Josephus with admiration.<sup>4</sup> But all this luxury and un-Jewish way of living alienated the populace, and the plots which were laid against his life would, but for his prompt action, have proved fatal.<sup>5</sup> In his thirteenth year famine swept the land, and Herod won back the alienated affections of his people by the spontaneity with which he sold all his treasures in order to provide food not only for Judæa, but also for Syria. "The multitude," says Josephus, "were ready to suppose he had been from the beginning not such a one as they had found him to be by experience, but such a one as the care he had taken of them in supplying their necessities proved him now to be."<sup>6</sup> This impression Herod fostered by remitting a third part of the taxes,<sup>7</sup> but more than all by the magnificence with which he proceeded to rebuild the Temple in his eighteenth year.<sup>8</sup>

Still, the murder of Mariamne was not to go unavenged. Her two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, had been sent to

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XV. vii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 5; ix. 5-6; x. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, x. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 2-4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. 1-7.

Rome for their education. On their return they became immensely popular; but Herod's evil genius, his sister Salome,<sup>1</sup> hated them, and induced the suspicious and jealous monarch to believe that the two young men were secretly repining for the murder of their mother, and were plotting to take their father's life. Alexander and Aristobulus seem to have been absolutely innocent,<sup>2</sup> though Herod's treatment of them was enough to drive them into rebellion. For he first of all brought to court his eldest son Antipater, the son of Doris, who was born long before Herod became King, and he took pains to make it evident that he considered him as his heir.<sup>3</sup> Then, goaded by his groundless fears, he impeached his two sons before Cæsar<sup>4</sup> at Rome in their presence and that of the hated Antipater. Cæsar dismissed the charge, but Herod, on returning to Judæa with his sons, took occasion to declare publicly that Antipater was to succeed him—a course of action which proved very unpalatable to the people.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile his building swallowed up immense sums of money, and Herod ventured to imitate Hyrcanus' action in opening the tomb of David in search of treasure. He found no money, but plenty of golden furniture, all of which he took away. Josephus relates that in his disappointment he ventured to go further in, as far as the very bodies of David and Solomon, but that a fire broke forth and drove him out.<sup>5</sup> At this time, too, Herod had the misfortune to lose the favour of Cæsar, owing to misrepresentations at Rome, and Cæsar wrote in consequence that "whereas of old he had treated him as his friend, he would now treat him as his subject."<sup>6</sup> The breach, however, was healed after some time, and Herod took occasion to renew his impeachment of Mariamne's sons. This took place at Berytus, and resulted in what was practically an acquittal, but on his return to Jerusalem Herod allowed his old jealousies to get the better of him, and he had the two young men strangled at Samaria.<sup>7</sup> Antipater was then sent to Cæsar at Rome with Herod's testament, in which he designated Antipater his successor; but in his absence a series of plots were discovered which

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVI. iii. 1-2. <sup>2</sup> *But cf. Wars*, I. xxiii. 1-3. <sup>3</sup> *Ant.* XVI. iii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Octavian, afterwards Cæsar Augustus, B.C. 27-A.D. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XVI. iv.; and *Wars*, I. xx. iii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ant.* XVI. vii. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. 7.



showed that Antipater had conspired to poison his father. Herod held his peace till he had Antipater in his power, and then held a public investigation in the presence of Quintilius Varus, the President of Syria.<sup>1</sup> Antipater's guilt was fully proved, and Herod imprisoned him. Meanwhile, the old King was himself smitten with a deadly disease, and he was taken to the hot springs at Callirrhoe, on the east of Jordan.<sup>2</sup> Here he plotted a most diabolical crime against the chiefs of the nation, whom he arranged to have shot down in the hippodrome at Jericho, whither he had assembled them; this was to be done after his death in order to secure that there should be at least some mourning on his decease! Five days before his death he caused Antipater to be slain in prison,<sup>3</sup> and revoked the will by which he had left the kingdom to Antipas. He left the kingdom to Archelaus instead—subject, of course, to Cæsar's pleasure—and made Antipas Tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, and Philip Tetrarch of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas. At the same time he left immense sums to Cæsar and to Julia, Cæsar's wife.<sup>4</sup> Then he died, and was buried with extraordinary pomp at the fortress of Herodium.

iv. Archelaus now sailed for Rome to lay his cause before Cæsar, but his brother Antipas went thither also to see if it were possible that Cæsar might give the kingdom to him.<sup>5</sup> Cæsar favoured Archelaus, without, however, coming to any immediate decision. Meanwhile Judæa became the scene of the wildest excesses, for bands of robbers infested the country, and each of them declared their leader King. Cæsar's steward, too, Sabinus, behaved very imprudently, and was the cause of an insurrection at the Passover, in the course of which the Temple cloisters were set on fire. Varus, the President of Syria, put things into some kind of order, and then advised Philip<sup>6</sup> also to go to Rome and see if there was any hope for him in the dispute about the succession. The three brothers came before Cæsar at the same time that an immense embassy of Jews came beseeching Cæsar to free them from all kind of kingly government, and put them under the President of the Province of Syria. Cæsar, however, overruled this, and

<sup>1</sup> *Wars*, I. xxx-xxxi.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XVII. v.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. 1.

appointed Archelaus Ethnarch of half Herod's territory, and Philip and Antipas Tetrarchs over the remainder.<sup>1</sup> Archelaus held his Ethnarchy for ten years, but on a renewed protest of the Jews against his excesses he was summoned to Rome and banished to Vienne, in Gaul.<sup>2</sup> "So," concludes Josephus, "Archelaus' country was added to the Province of Syria, and Quirinius, who had been Consul, was sent by Cæsar to take account of people's effects in Syria and to sell the house of Archelaus."<sup>3</sup>

### C. Judæa under the Roman Procurators for the first time, A.D. 6-37.

Judæa never became a Roman Province strictly so called, but was administered by Procurators, who were in some sense subordinate to the Presidents of Syria, though retaining the power of life and death. These Procurators had no power over the Tetrarchs, Herod Antipas and Philip, for these latter were directly subordinate to Rome. Cæsar's first step after the banishment of Archelaus was to arrange for a valuation of property with a view to definite taxation. This taxation, though a symbol of servitude, was on the whole submitted to with patience by the Jews, though, as St. Luke tells us (Acts v. 37), and as Josephus says repeatedly,<sup>4</sup> Judas the Galilean raised a sedition in the north, which was only suppressed with difficulty.

The history of the period we are now concerned with will be more conveniently set forth if we follow the order of the Roman Emperors:

Cæsar Augustus (Octavianus), 29 B.C.-A.D. 14. We are now in his thirty-sixth year, A.D. 6. He sent three Procurators to Judæa: Coponius, A.D. 6-9; Marcus Ambivius, 9-12; and Annius Rufus, 12-15.<sup>5</sup>

Tiberius Cæsar, A.D. 14-37, sent only two Procurators: Valerius Gratus, 15-26, and Pontius Pilate, 26-36. As far as we can learn from Josephus, affairs were fairly tranquil in Judæa till the arrival of Pilate in A.D. 26, though we find Gratus freely deposing the High Priests, and finally elevating

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *Wars*, II. vi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII. i. 1, 6; v. 2; *Wars*, II. viii. 1; xvii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1-3.

Joseph Caiaphas to that dignity.<sup>1</sup> The two Tetrarchs were engaged in building, Antipas at Sepphoris and at Betharamptha, which he renamed Julias, and Philip at Paneas, which he renamed Cæsarea Philippi, as also at Bethsaida, on the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee; this he renamed Julias after Cæsar's daughter. Antipas, too, was busy in building the famous city of Tiberias on the western shores of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>2</sup> But whatever appearance of peace there may have been before, it was speedily dissipated on the arrival of Pilate. For Pilate seems to have been a man absolutely without tact. Thus, he insisted on his soldiers parading with Cæsar's effigy on their ensigns, though all images were a known abomination to the Jews; he also applied "the sacred money"—that, namely, which was sent to Jerusalem for the upkeep of the Temple—to the construction of an aqueduct. Nor did Pilate hesitate to repress the consequent risings by main force.<sup>3</sup> It is here that Josephus inserts his brief reference to Christ, a passage the authenticity of which has been much disputed. It runs as follows:

"Now there was about this time Jesus, a wise man, if, indeed, it be lawful to call him a man, for he was a doer of wonderful works, a teacher of such as receive the truth with pleasure. He drew to himself both many of the Jews and many of the Gentiles. He was Christ, and when Pilate, at the instigation of the principal men amongst us, had condemned him to the cross, those that loved him at the first did not forsake him, for he appeared to them alive on the third day, as the divine Prophets had foretold these, as well as ten thousand other wonderful things, concerning him; and the tribe of Christians—so named after Him—are not extinct at this day."<sup>4</sup>

The nation was in a state of ferment owing to the vicissitudes to which it had been exposed for so many years, and also because the air was full of rumours of the advent of the Messias. Pilate was the last person to cope tactfully with difficulties such as these, and he put down a rising in Samaria with ruthless severity. This led to an appeal against him to Vitellius, the President of Syria, who promptly despatched Pilate to Rome to give an account of himself to the Emperor. But Tiberius died before Pilate

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 1, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 1-2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. 3; *cf.* XX. ix. 1; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, l. 47; *P.G.* xi. 745; *H.E.* I. xi. 7; *R.B.*, 1898, p. 150.

reached the city.<sup>1</sup> Antipas also had involved himself in difficulties with Aretas, the King of the Arabians, for he had divorced his wife, Aretas's daughter, in order to marry Herodias the wife of his brother Herod Philip. Aretas attacked Herod and defeated him, whereupon Herod reported his conduct to Rome and Tiberius ordered Vitellius to send Aretas's head to him at Rome as soon as possible. The Emperor died however before Vitellius had completed his preparations. Josephus here refers to John the Baptist and his bold reproof of Herod for his action regarding Herodias; he tells us that at that time many thought that Herod was divinely punished for beheading the Baptist.<sup>2</sup>

#### D. Judæa once more becomes a kingdom under Herod Agrippa I.

Caius Caligula, A.D. 37-41, great-nephew to Tiberius, was appointed by him as his successor. This appointment made a great difference in the prospects of one of Herod's descendants, Agrippa the son of the murdered Mariamne's son Aristobulus. Agrippa had been a spendthrift, had never known what it was to be out of debt, had lived in dependence on Herod Antipas, had at last fled from his creditors in Judæa to Rome and there had at first been well received by Tiberius who however threw him into prison for some unwise words he had spoken to Caius Caligula regarding the succession.<sup>3</sup> Almost the first act of Caligula was to release Agrippa and make him King over the Tetrarchies of Philip—who was recently dead—and of Lysanias; at the same time Caligula sent a new Procurator, Marullus, to Judæa.<sup>4</sup> After some considerable time Agrippa paid a visit to Palestine in his new capacity. This roused the jealousy of Herodias who so worked on Antipas the Tetrarch that he went to Rome to see if he also could be made King by Caligula, but the Emperor had heard of armour sufficient for seventy thousand men which Antipas had collected, so he promptly sent him into exile at Lyons.<sup>5</sup> Caligula offered Herodias her liberty, but to her honour she replied

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XX, iv, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vi, 6; but *cf. Wars*, II, ix, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XX, vi, 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, XVIII, vii, 1-2; but *cf. Wars*, II, ix, 5, where Spain is given.

that as partaker with Antipas in his prosperity she ought also to be partaker in his misfortunes. Herod's Tetrarchy was added to the kingdom of Agrippa. Caligula had begun well, but in a little time he became obsessed with the idea of his own divinity and determined to compel the Jews to worship his image in their temple. The Jews were equally determined to resist this invasion to the death. The noble conduct of Petronius the President of Syria, as well as the courage of Agrippa who was then at Rome and who ventured to ask the Emperor to change his decision, alone prevented the shedding of rivers of blood.<sup>1</sup> Caligula was shortly afterwards murdered<sup>2</sup> and the soldiery elected Claudius in his place.

Claudius Cæsar, A.D. 41-54. Claudius owed his election to the exceedingly prompt action of Agrippa,<sup>3</sup> and the Emperor at once repaid him by confirming him in the kingdom given him by Caligula and by adding to it the kingdom of Herod the Great, *viz.* Judæa and Samaria, as well as the territory of Lysanias. He at the same time made Herod, Agrippa's brother, King of Chalcis.<sup>4</sup> At the request of Agrippa and Herod he decreed the freedom of the Jews of Alexandria and extended this same privilege to all the Jews in the Roman Empire.<sup>5</sup> Agrippa then took possession of his kingdom and endeavoured to win his people by an exhibition of piety which was hardly in keeping with the traditions of his former life; he sacrificed every day, he undertook the expenses of certain Nazirites who were under vows,<sup>6</sup> he hung up in the temple the gold chain which Caligula had given him instead of the iron one with which he had been bound by Tiberius, he remitted taxes,<sup>7</sup> he also rebuilt the north wall of Jerusalem which surrounded the new quarter, Bezetha.<sup>8</sup> But he was called to account for this last act by Claudius at the instance of the President of Syria who also showed his power by dispersing the Kings of Commagene, Pontus, Armenia, Emesa and Chalcis who had come to do honour to Agrippa.<sup>9</sup> It was apparently as a bid for popularity that Agrippa slew St. James and imprisoned St. Peter (Acts xii.), but Josephus

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 1-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX. i. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 2-3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iv. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 1.



makes no mention of these things, Agrippa was a hero in his eyes. He does however tell us<sup>1</sup> how Herod met his death and that almost in the same language as that of St. Luke (Acts xii.). Agrippa had reigned seven years when he died, four under Caligula, three under Claudius, but he had only spent these last three years in the actual exercise of his sovereignty.

## E. Judæa is again governed by Roman Procurators, A.D. 44-70.

On his death Judæa was once more governed by Procurators, for Agrippa II. was felt to be too young to occupy so difficult a position.<sup>2</sup>

The first Procurator was Cuspius Fadus, A.D. 44-(?)46. A great source of contention ever since the days of Hyrcanus II. had been the retention of the High Priestly garments by the Jews; the Romans had at different times demanded that these garments should be in their possession and only lent out by them when the Day of Expiation came round. Fadus renewed this demand but, at the instance of the young Agrippa, Claudius handed them over to the Jews<sup>3</sup> and at the same time gave to Herod King of Chalcis authority over the temple and the right to appoint the High Priests.<sup>4</sup> During Fadus' term of office a rising was effected by a certain Theudas, one of the many pseudo Messias, he was slain however by Fadus.<sup>5</sup> He is not to be confounded with the Theudas of whom St. Luke makes mention (Acts v. 36-37). At this time, and during the Procuratorship of Tiberius Alexander, (?) 46-48, a grievous famine occurred (see Acts xi. 27-30). In A.D. 48 died Herod King of Chalcis;<sup>6</sup> Claudius gave his territory to Agrippa II. Judæa was in a state of grievous unrest at the time. The populace was subject to the exactions of the successive Procurators, there was no local government, the High Priests were removable at will, the customs of their forefathers were not observed, and—more than all—the Messias had been crucified. Hence when Cumanus became Procurator, A.D. 48-52, he had to cope with repeated demon-

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIX. viii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XX. i. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, i. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 2.

strations of a very hostile character. There can be no doubt that the Roman soldiery were often to blame, they treated the Jews with contempt and slighted what these latter held most dear. Thus a soldier on guard during the Paschal solemnities showed his contempt in a disgusting fashion, this provoked the people and in the ensuing tumult no fewer than 20,000—according to Josephus—perished.<sup>1</sup> On another occasion a soldier discovered a copy of the Law and deliberately tore it to pieces in public.<sup>2</sup> Again, the Samaritans fell upon some Galileans who were on their way to Jerusalem and killed a great many. Cumanus suppressed this riot with violence and both parties appealed to Rome against him. Cumanus had to go to Rome to stand his trial, with the result that, at the instance of Agrippa II., he was sent into banishment; the Tribune also was publicly executed in Jerusalem in ignominious fashion.<sup>3</sup> Claudius then bestowed the Tetrarchy of Philip as well as Batanea, Trachonitis and Abila on Agrippa II. though he took away from him the principality of Chalcis.<sup>4</sup> At the same time he sent Felix, who had been a slave, as Procurator, A.D. 52-60. Felix then induced Drusilla the wife of Azizus King of Emesa to leave her husband and marry him, she was sister to Agrippa.<sup>5</sup>

Nero, A.D. 54-68. Bands of assassins, known as Sicarii from the daggers, *sicæ*, which they carried,<sup>6</sup> infested Judæa, and Felix did not scruple to use them for his own purposes, he even induced them to slay the High Priest Jonathan. At the same time another pseudo-Messias from Egypt (*cf.* Acts xxi. 38) seduced the people, and Felix repressed the rising with great violence.<sup>7</sup> Felix was recalled and would certainly have been punished had it not been for the paramount influence of his brother Pallas, Nero's favourite.

Porcius Festus, A.D. 60-62, succeeded Felix but died after repressing another rising caused by still another pseudo-Messias.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XX. v. 3; but *cf.* *Wars*, II. xii. 1, where only 10,000 are mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XX. v. 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XX. vii. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 5, ix. 2; *Wars*, II. xiii. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ant.* XX. viii. 6; *Wars*, II. xiii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 1-2; *Wars*, II. xii. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Ant.* XX. viii. 10.

Albinus, A.D. 62-64, succeeded, but before he could arrive the High Priest Ananus took advantage of the interregnum to put to death St. James the Less, the "Lord's brother" and the Bishop of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> In spite of Albinus' efforts the Sicarii grew more and more aggressive and the people were reduced to the utmost straits.

Gessius Florus, A.D. 64-66, was the next Procurator and he appears to have surpassed all his predecessors in iniquity; he was the very worst type of Roman Procurator, one who simply regarded his Province as a place in which to enrich himself as speedily as possible and regardless of the means adopted.<sup>2</sup> He took up his residence in the palace at Jerusalem instead of living at Cæsarea as the Procurators used to do,<sup>3</sup> he pillaged the temple treasury,<sup>4</sup> he scourged Jews who were Roman citizens,<sup>5</sup> and, in spite of the efforts of Berenice the sister of Agrippa who went barefoot before him to plead for the people, he persisted in his mad career in order<sup>6</sup> "to oblige the Jews to begin the war."<sup>7</sup> Agrippa's behaviour on this occasion must not be passed over. He did all in his power to avert the calamity of a war with Rome for he saw the futility of such a proceeding.<sup>8</sup> But when the people had heard him they only replied with stones.<sup>9</sup> The truth is that the nation was driven to frenzy by the exactions of the Procurators and by the contempt shown for their traditions. The climax came when an infuriated High Priest persuaded them to cease offering sacrifices for Cæsar; "this," says Josephus, "was the true beginning of the war with the Romans."<sup>10</sup> Events now succeeded one another with appalling rapidity. Cestius Gallus, the President of Syria, marched on Jerusalem and established himself on Mount Scopus to the North. But he had not reckoned with the temper of the people, a sudden assault was made on him and he found himself obliged to fly.<sup>11</sup> This first success intoxicated the Jews, they overran the whole country, mapped it out into districts and prepared for war.<sup>12</sup> Nero sent Vespasian to reduce them. He began

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XX, ix. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, xv. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xi. 1; *Wars*, II. xiv. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, xvii. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xx-xxii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, xvi. 3-5.

<sup>11</sup> *Wars*, II. xix.

by subduing Galilee<sup>1</sup> and then at length formally invested Jerusalem. Josephus calculates that there were assembled in the city at the time—for it was the Passover—no less than 2,700,200 persons, to which number must be added those who were not in a fit state to eat the Passover—for Josephus’ calculation is based on the number of Paschal lambs supplied.<sup>2</sup> We need not enter into the awful details of the siege, internal dissensions proved the undoing of the Jews and famine completed the work; 1,100,000 perished in the siege, 97,000 were taken captive at its close; the Temple was burnt, the rest of the city was consumed with fire after the siege, and the walls were entirely demolished. The siege had occupied five strenuous months and the city fell on the 8th of Elul (September) A.D. 70.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing brief sketch of the period 142 B.C. to A.D. 70 brings into clear relief the causes which led to the downfall of the Jewish nation. The Maccabean dynasty was ruined by internal dissensions. An alien, Antipater the Idumæan, fostered these dissensions for his own ends, and in the person of his son Herod the Great “the sceptre passed away from Juda.”<sup>4</sup> The dissensions of the Maccabees had brought them under the power of the Romans and these latter were won by the bribes of Herod to put the Jews under an alien King. In vain they strove to shake off the yoke and applied to be made a formal part of the Province of Syria.<sup>5</sup> The Roman education of Herod’s sons won for them power in Rome, and even after the banishment of Archelaus—when Judæa itself was administered by Procurators—the sons of Herod yet retained the government of portions of the land. These sons of Herod were aliens like their father, though they pretended now and again to have keen Jewish sympathies; undoubtedly the intimate knowledge of the people which they possessed enabled them to judge of them and to appreciate their difficulties better than the Emperors themselves could do. They also showed a certain magnanimity in the way in which they pleaded for the people when sorely oppressed. But they were frankly pagans in their ideals while making

<sup>1</sup> *Wars*, III. vii. ; IV. x.

<sup>4</sup> *Gen.* xlix. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. ix. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, x. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XVII. xi. 2.

a show of Judaism when actually living in Palestine. But their luxury, their extravagant taste for building, their Roman ways of thought and their power to bribe, made them hateful to all the pious-minded of the Jews. Moreover the people were sorely oppressed, first of all by the Herods themselves for whose buildings they had to find money, secondly by the various Roman officials of whom some were notoriously corrupt, though others, Vitellius and Petronius, for instance, the Presidents of Syria, were conspicuous examples to the contrary.

At the same time it must be confessed that the Jews themselves were the cause of their own downfall. For they had become religious fanatics of the worst type. Idolatry they had given up but they had learnt to make a fetish of their Law and customs, and for this the Pharisaic element was mainly responsible. Moreover they were quarrelsome<sup>1</sup> and apparently inclined to be contemptuous of other religions.<sup>2</sup> Then, too, they were rich and the large sums they transmitted to the Temple<sup>3</sup> attracted the cupidity of surrounding nations. But the most potent cause of their destruction lay in their disunion; they were always split up into factions and these, as we have seen, ruined the Maccabean dynasty, while the dissensions within the besieged city when Titus was under its walls form one of the most pathetic scenes depicted by Josephus. Lastly it must be remembered that the advent of the Messiah was expected, hence a state of unrest. The rulers had formed their own conception of what the Messiah was to be and when He came they did not recognize Him and consequently rejected Him. Hence, too, the crowd of imitators, the pseudo-Messias who seduced the people, and who by their excesses compelled the Roman Governors to suppress them with such vindictiveness.

It is only when we familiarize ourselves with the history of the times immediately preceding Our Lord's coming that we are enabled to grasp many details in the Gospel narrative; while the history of Judæa from the Crucifixion of Christ to the destruction of the city by Titus throws much light on the *Acts* and on the *Epistles*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVII. x. 1.

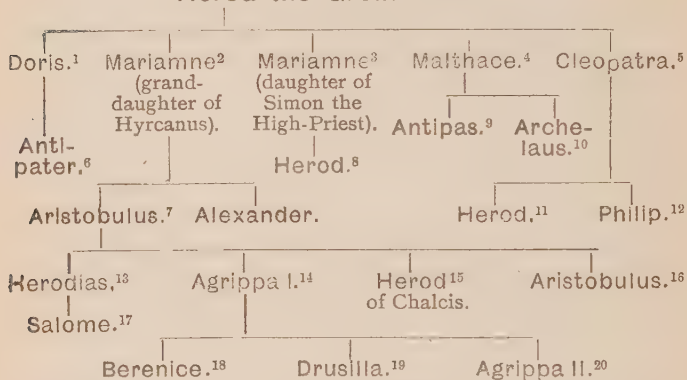
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX. v. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* XVI. vi. 2-6.



F. The Family of Herod was not large, despite the fact that he married no less than ten wives of whom nine were living at once. But the ramifications of the family are bewildering owing, mainly, to the identity of names. Of the ten wives five only concern us:

### Herod the Great married:



<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIV. xii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, xii. 1, xiii. 7, xv. 14; *B.J.* I. xvii. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* XV. ix. 3; XVII. iv. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XVII. i. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Slain five days before Herod's death, *Ant.* XVII. viii. 1.

<sup>7</sup> These two brothers were put to death in B.C. 6, *Ant.* XVI. xi. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ant.* XVII. i. 2-3; *B.J.* I. xxviii. 4. In the former of these passages this Herod is said to have been betrothed "to another daughter of Aristobulus," Herod's son by Mariamne the Asmonean, perhaps Herodias herself. At any rate this is the Herod to whom Herodias was ultimately married, *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4, and whom she left for Herod Antipas, *ibid.*; Matt. xiv. 3; Luke ix. 7. The fact that in Mark vi. 17 she is spoken of as "the wife of Philip his brother" has led to the supposition that this "Philip" was Herod Philip, the Tetrarch mentioned in Luke iii. 1. Josephus, it is true, never calls this Herod, son of Mariamne II., "Philip," but he does tell us that Herodias' daughter Salome by Herod the son of Mariamne II. married Philip the Tetrarch, *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4; it is incredible that this same Philip should have married both mother and daughter.

<sup>9</sup> *Ant.* XVII. vi. 1; the Tetrarch of Galilee, Luke iii. 1; he married the daughter of Aretas but left her for Herodias, Matt. xiv. 3; Luke ix. 7; he is "Herod the King," Mark vi. 14; "that fox," Luke xiii. 31-32; he mocks Christ, Luke xxiii. 6-15.

<sup>10</sup> Reigned in place of Herod the Great, B.C. 4 to A.D. 6; deposed, *B.J.* II. vii. 3.

## G. The Roman Emperors.

**Caius Julius Cæsar**, born 100 B.C.; Dictator 48; assassinated 44 B.C.

**Caius Octavius Cæsar Augustus**, great nephew and adopted son of Julius Cæsar, born 63 B.C.; declared Emperor 29 B.C.; took title of Augustus 27 B.C.; died A.D. 14.

**Tiberius Claudius Cæsar**, son-in-law of Augustus, born 42 B.C.; Emperor A.D. 14-37.

**Caius Cæsar Caligula**, great nephew of Tiberius, born A.D. 12; Emperor 37-41.

**Tiberius Claudius Germanicus**, uncle of Caligula, born 10 B.C.; Emperor 41-54.

**Nero Claudius Cæsar**, son-in-law of Claudius, born A.D. 37; Emperor 54-68.

**Galba and Otho**, Emperors in 68; both were slain in the same year.

**A. Vitellius**, Emperor A.D. 69; slain in same year.

**Flavius Vespasianus**, born A.D. 9; Emperor 69-79.

**Titus Flavius Vespasianus**, son of Vespasian, born A.D. 41; Emperor with Vespasian, 71; sole Emperor, 79-81.

**Flavius Domitianus Augustus**, son of Vespasian, born A.D. 51; Emperor 81-96.

**M. Cocceius Nerva**, born A.D. 32; Emperor 96-98.

**M. Ulpius Trajanus**, born A.D. 53; Emperor 98-117.

**P. Aelius Hadrianus**, born A.D. 76, adopted by Trajan; Emperor 117-138.

<sup>11</sup> *B.J.* I. xxviii. 4; *Ant.* XVII. i. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Philip the Tetrarch, Luke iii. 1; he married Salome daughter of Herodias, *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4; he died about A.D. 33, *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6.

<sup>13</sup> See above note 8.

<sup>14</sup> Acts xii.; died A.D. 44.

<sup>15</sup> He was made King of Chalcis by Claudius, *Ant.* XIX. v. 1; he died A.D. 48, *Ant.* XX. v. 2; *B.J.* II. xii. 1.

<sup>16</sup> He married Salome after the death of Herod Philip the Tetrarch, *Ant.* XVIII. v. 4.

<sup>17</sup> See notes 8 and 16.

<sup>18</sup> Acts xxv. 13.

<sup>19</sup> Acts xxiv. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Acts xxv-xxvi.

Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius, born A.D. 86, adopted by Hadrian; Emperor 138-161.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, son-in-law of Antoninus Pius, and adopted by him; Emperor A.D. 161-180.

H. The following list of the **Roman Procurators** in Palestine during the first century will prove useful; the dates cannot be arrived at with absolute certainty, but the references to Josephus will enable the student to verify them as far as possible for himself:

A.D.

- 6-9. Coponius, *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, ii. 2; *Wars*, II. viii. 1.
- 9-12. Marcus Ambivius, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2.
- 12-15. Annias Rufus, Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, makes his arrival in Palestine cotemporary with the death of Cæsar Augustus, A.D. 14; from *Wars*, II. v. 2 we learn that he was deposed by Tiberius.
- 15-26. Valerius Gratus, from *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, vi. 5, we learn that he remained in Palestine eleven years.
- 26-36. Pontius Pilate, *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2; *Wars*, II. ix. 2; he was sent by Tiberius to replace Gratus; his folly and violence, *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1; *Wars*, II. ix. 2-4. He was recalled by Tiberius after serving for ten years, but Tiberius died before Pilate reached Rome, *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 1-2. In *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 3 we have the much-disputed reference to Christ, *cf.* p. 16.
- 36-37. Marcellus, *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 2, was apparently appointed by Vitellius the President of Syria.
- 37-41. Marullus, *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10, was appointed by Caligula.
- 41-44. Herod Agrippa I. was confirmed by Claudius, *Ant.* XIX. v. 1, and the kingship of Philip's tetrarchy promised him by Caligula, *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10-11; to this the tetrarchy also of Herod Antipas, *viz.* Galilee and Peræa, was added, *Ant.* XVIII. vii.

1-2; *Wars*, II. ix. 6. Hence, during these three years at least, and perhaps from A.D. 38 as well, see *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10-11, there was no Roman Procurator in Palestine.

44-?. Cuspius Fadus, *Ant.* XIX. ix. 2; *Wars*, II. xi. 6, was appointed by Claudius as Procurator on the death of Herod Agrippa I., since Agrippa II. was too young.

?-48. Tiberius Alexander, *Ant.* XX. v. 2; *Wars*, II. xi. 6, succeeded Fadus, though the precise time at which this took place is not certain. In their time came the famine mentioned in Acts xi. 27-30; *cf.* *Ant.* XX. v. 2; at this time also arose the pretender Theudas (not to be identified with the Theudas mentioned in Acts v. 36-37). Tiberius Alexander was a son of Alexander the Alabarch of Alexandria and thus a nephew of Philo, *cf.* *Ant.* XVIII. viii. 1, and XX. v. 2.

48-52. Cumanus succeeded the foregoing apparently at the time of the death of Herod of Chalcis the brother of Agrippa I., *Ant.* XX. v. 2; *Wars*, II. xii. 1; Cumanus' exactions and violence were such that the President of Syria, Ummidius Quadratus, sent him to Rome to Claudius who ordered his banishment, *Ant.* XX. vi. 2.

52-60. Felix, the brother of Pallas; both of them were freedmen of the imperial family, Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9; the appointment of a freedman to the Procuratorship was unprecedented, *Ant.* XX. vii. 1; *Wars*, II. xii. 8. At this time Claudius conferred on Agrippa II. the tetrarchy of Philip as well as that of Lysanias, *ibid.* At this time, too, Palestine was much disturbed by bands of assassins known as Sicarii, as also by the advent of a certain Egyptian who led the populace out to Mount Olivet promising them that they should see the walls of the city fall; Felix dispersed them, *Ant.* XX. viii. 5-7; see Acts xxi. 38.

60-62. Porcius Festus succeeded Felix who had been impeached by the Jews to the Emperor; the

Sicarii, as well as impostors similar to those mentioned above, were as troublesome as under Felix, *Ant.* XX. viii. 9-11.

62-64. Albinus was appointed by Nero on the death of Festus; the High Priest Ananus, taking advantage of the interval before his arrival, put to death James the Less, "the Brother of the Lord" and the Bishop of Jerusalem; Albinus ruled with violence and rapacity, he actually employed the Sicarii to assist him. He was superseded, *Ant.* XX. ix. 1-4.

64-66. Gessius Florus; with the account of his arrival and of the "miseries with which he filled Jerusalem" Josephus closes his *Antiquities of the Jews*.

### I. Comparative Tables of Historical Events, 150 B.C. TO A.D. 70.

B.C.	Palestine.	Egypt.	Syria.	Rome.
150.		Ptol. VII. (IX.) 146 (170)-117.		Third Punic War, 149-146.
	Hyrcanus I., 135-105.		Antiochus VII., 143-131. There followed a series of Kings of no importance.	Scipio in power, 147-129. Sack of Corinth, 146. C. Gracchus, Tribune, 124-121.
120.		Ptol. VIII. (X.) 117-87.		
110.	Aristobulus I., 105-104.			Marius, 106-86.
100.		Ptol. XI., 87.		J. Cæsar, b. July 12.
90.		Ptol. XII., 87-81.		Sulla in power, 92-78.
80.	Alexandra, 78-69.	Ptol. XIII., 80-51.		



B.C.	Palestine.	Egypt.	Syria.	Rome.
70.	Hyrcanus II., 69. Aristobulus II., 69-63.		Syria a Roman Province; Æmilius Scaurus the first President, 65 B.C.	Cæsar and Pompey, Consuls.
60.				First Triumvirate, Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus, 60. Cæsar in Gaul and Britain, 58-50.
		Ptol. XIV. and Cleopatra, under Pompey, 51-48.	Gabinus, 57-55. L. Crassus, 54-53. C. Longinus, 53-51.	
50.	Antipater, Procurator of Judæa, his son Herod is Governor of Galilee. Hyrcanus is Ethnarch and High-Priest, 47.	Ptol. XV., 48-45.	S. Cæsar, 47-46.	Battle of Pharsalia, 48. Death of Pompey.
	Antipater killed, 43.	Ptol. XVI., 45-30, son of Cæsar and Cleopatra.	C. Longinus, 44-42.	Death of Cæsar, 44.
	Herod and Phasael become Tetrarchs; Antigonus, son of Hyrcanus, made King by the Parthians.			Second Triumvirate, Octavian, Antony and Lepidus, 43. Death of Cicero, 42. Battle of Philippi, 42. Octavian and Antony defeat Brutus and Cassius.

B. C.	Palestine.	Egypt.	Syria.	Rome.
40.	Herod is made King, 40, but he only entered into possession in 37. Ananelus is High-Priest, then Aristobulus, son of Alexandra.		P. Ventidius, 39-38.	
	Hyrchanus dies, 31. Herod's sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, are slain.			Battle of Actium, Octavian defeats Antony, 31.
30.		Death of Antony, and Cleopatra; Egypt becomes a Roman Province, 30.		End of the Republic, 29. Octavian declared Emperor, Cæsar Augustus, 27 B.C. - A.D. 14.
20.			M. Agrippa, 23-13.	
10.				Death of Vergil, 19.
	Antipater, son of Herod by Doris, dies, 4. Herod dies five days later. Archelaus King and Ethnarch; Antipas Tetrarch of Galilee; Philip Tetrarch of Gaulonitis, etc.		S. Saturninus, 9-6. Q. Varus, 6-4.	
A. D.			P. Quirinius, 3-2.	
1.	Archelaus banished, 6. Judæa		C. Cæsar, 1 B.C. - A.D. 4(?).	

A.D.	Palestine.	Egypt.	Syria.	Rome.
1.	becomes a Roman Province under the Presidency of Syria. First Procurator, Coponius, 6-9.		P. Quirinius, 6- (?) .	
10.	Ambivius, 9-14. Annius Rufus, 12-15. Valerius Gratus, 15-26.		S. Saturninus, 19-21.	Tiberius Cæsar, 14-37.
20.	Pontius Pilate, 26-36.			
30.	Marullus. Antipas is exiled. Agrippa I. made King.		Petronius, 39-42.	C. Caligula, 37-41.
40.				Claudius, 41-54.
	Agrippa I. dies, 44. Judæa once more under Procurators ; C. Fadus, 44-?46.		C. Longinus, 45-50.	
	T. Alexander, 46(?) -48. Rising under Theudas ; the Famine. Herod of Chalcis dies, 48.			
50.	Agrippa II. Cumanus, 48-52.		U. Quadratus, 50-60.	Nero, 54-68.
	Felix, 52-60.			
60.	Festus, 60-62. Albinus, 62-64.		C. Gallus, 63-66.	
70.	G. Florus, 64-66. Fall of Jerusalem.			

## CHAPTER II

### JEWISH LIFE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

#### A. The Sects.

- i. In General.
- ii. The Pharisees.
- iii. The Sadducees.

#### B. Official Life.

- i. The Scribes.
- ii. The Sanhedrin.
- iii. The Synagogue.
- iv. The Proselytes.
- v. The Dispersion.
- vi. The Publicans.
- vii. The Moneys in Use.
- viii. The Tribute.
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#### A. The "Sects" of the Jews: the "Pharisees" and the "Sadducees."

##### i. In General.

THE Pharisees derive their name from the Hebrew word פָּרָשׁ "to divide or separate," for they maintained very strict views of ceremonial uncleanness and thus "separated"<sup>1</sup> themselves from many things which less scrupulous minds might not regard as unclean; hence by consequence they also "separated" themselves from the great majority of the people who did not think as they did. The Sadducees were in every sense the antithesis of the Pharisees; they

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Origen XIII. 54 *in Joan*; P.G. XIV. 503.

derive their name from the priests of the line of Sadoc, *cf.* Ezech. xl. 46, xliii. 19, xliv. 15, xlviii. 11, and also the addition to Ecclus. li. 12 in the Hebrew text.<sup>1</sup>

The differences between these two sects is best shown in their history as far as it is known to us.

In the Maccabean times allusion is made more than once to the "Assideans." This name is merely a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew word תְּסִידִים, the "pious" or "the Saints" so often mentioned in the Psalms, *cf.* also Prov. ii. 8, and 1 Sam. ii. 9. In 1 Macc. ii. 42 we read that when Mathathias, the father of the Maccabees, raised the standard of revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes *then was assembled to them the congregation of the Assideans, mighty men of Israel, every one that offered himself willingly for the Law.* These men who thus offered themselves to the Maccabees are clearly not the Maccabees themselves but a particular class of men who were devoted to the Law. Again, in 1 Macc. vii. 12-13, *And there were gathered together unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes to seek for justice. And the Assideans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them.* It is interesting to note the connexion here asserted between the "scribes" and the Assideans. The High Priest Alcimus here mentioned was not of the High Priestly stock; he was a renegade Jew who threw in his lot with the Seleucidans for the sake of position, he stands for a type of that party amongst the Jews, and especially among the priests (*cf.* 2 Macc. iv. 13-17), who esteemed *the glories of the Greeks best of all.* Alcimus, for his own purposes, identified the Assideans with the Maccabees, 2 Macc. xiv. 6, but the passages above quoted show that this is not true.

We find, then, in the Maccabean period two distinct tendencies among the Jews. There were those who felt that the very existence of the nation was imperilled by contact with other nations and who viewed with distrust everything that was Greek. These Nationalists saw also

<sup>1</sup> This derivation from the line of Sadoc seems preferable to the commonly accepted derivation from the Hebrew *tsadiq*, meaning "just," though this latter derivation is often given by the Fathers, *cf.* St. Jerome, *Com. on St. Matt.* xxii. 23, *Sadducei autem qui interpretantur justi.*



that their only safeguard lay in the Law and its observance. This was the spirit that dominated Pharisaism: the Pharisees were legalists because they were Nationalists. The priesthood on the other hand was inclined to accept the Grecian domination with its culture; and the priesthood, be it remembered, was the aristocracy of the nation. But the priesthood formed part of the Law, hence the Pharisees could not reprobate the priesthood, they had, if they were to be consistent, to support it. Thus in the New Testament we find the Pharisees and Sadducees working together, the two parties were mutually necessary.

It is easy now to understand how the Assideans as a nationalist and legalist party would throw themselves whole-heartedly into the Maccabean movement. For them it meant the salvation of the nation. But unfortunately the Assideans proved extremists and by making an idol of the traditions derived from the fathers, they, just as did the Sadducees by their love of power and wealth, contrived to bring about the fall of the nation. At the same time, while fully alive to the defects of Pharisaism, we must in justice note that they were fundamentally right. The Law had been given to the Jews to observe, and its observance would prove the nation's preservation. It was only the Pharisees' unfortunate insistence on an immense mass of superimposed tradition that vitiated all their efforts and led to their rejection of the Messias. The excesses of the Pharisees naturally tended, by the law of contraries, to crystallize Sadducaeism. The former demanded a host of traditions, the latter replied by rejecting all and sundry. And the step from religious to political antipathies is an easy one; the Pharisees were not strictly speaking a political party, but they became one for the sake of power.

The following passages from Josephus will enable us to realize the growth of the respective parties. Josephus speaks of them as “sects,”<sup>1</sup> and in a sense they were so, but Josephus was an absolutely Hellenized Jew and hence was apt to clothe even Jewish history in a Grecian dress. It is often said that Josephus, in at least some of the following extracts, is only quoting his favourite authority, Nicolas of

<sup>1</sup> See Acts v. 17, xv. 5, xxvi. 5.

Damascus, but if this is so he apparently endorses all he says. Josephus, then, tells us<sup>1</sup> that in his youth he made trial of the life led by the Essenes and lived in the desert for three years with one Banus, an ascetic.<sup>2</sup> But when he had attained his nineteenth year he "began to conduct himself according to the rules of the sect of the Pharisees, which is akin to the sect of the Stoics as the Greeks call them." Josephus has in several places left us an account of the three great Jewish sects, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes, and as he lived amongst them and made trial of the life led by two of them his testimony to their real character is of the greatest importance. He first gives an account of them in his history of the Jewish Wars,<sup>3</sup> and since he refers to this account twice over he evidently regarded it as a satisfactory description<sup>4</sup>

## ii. The Pharisees.

"The Pharisees are those who seem most skilful in the explanation of their laws, and they introduce the first sect. These ascribe all to fate and to God; yet they allow that to do what is right or the contrary is principally in the power of men, although fate does cooperate in every action. They say that all souls are incorruptible; that the souls of good men are only removed into other bodies,<sup>5</sup> but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment. . . . Moreover the Pharisees are friendly to one another, and they insist on the exercise of concord and regard for the public."<sup>6</sup>

Elsewhere Josephus is much more explicit :

"The Pharisees live meanly and make no concessions to delicacy. They follow the guidance of reason, and what that prescribes for them as good, that they do; they think, too, that they ought earnestly to

<sup>1</sup> *Life*, ii.

<sup>2</sup> The text may be corrupt, the three years are perhaps meant to comprise the time during which he stayed with the Essenes and Banus.

<sup>3</sup> *Wars*, II. viii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> It will be noticed that this account is exceedingly brief, Josephus however refers to it as apparently a very full account, *Ant.* XIII. v. 9, and x. 6; since, then, the account of the Essenes in this passage of the *Wars* is very full it seems probable that we have not now the original account of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

<sup>5</sup> This sounds like the doctrine of Transmigration of Souls, it is hard to believe that Josephus can really mean this, and indeed, *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3. *cf. infra*, he sets forth a doctrine which is incompatible with it.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. Ant.* XIII. x. 6, "the Pharisees are not apt to be severe in punishments."

strive to observe reason's dictates. They also pay respect to such as are in years, nor are they so bold as to contradict them in anything which they have introduced. And though they maintain that all things are done by fate, yet they do not take away the spontaneity of men's actions, for they maintain that it has pleased God to make a mixture and that to the will of fate should be added the human will with its virtue and baseness. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments according as men have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; to the latter is appointed an everlasting prison, but to the former the refreshment of returning to life. On account of these doctrines they are able greatly to persuade the body of the people, so that all Divine worship, whether it be prayer or sacrifice, is done according to their direction, insomuch that the cities gave great attestation to them on account of their entire virtuous conduct both in their actions and in their discourses."<sup>1</sup>

But Josephus himself could not but see in the same Pharisees the destroyers of his nation. Thus he tells us how ill-disposed they were towards Hyrcanus I., the High Priest: "They that were the worst disposed to him were the Pharisees . . . who have so great a power over the multitude that when they say anything against the King or the High Priest they are presently believed." Josephus then goes on to relate how the Pharisees endeavoured to make Hyrcanus resign the High Priesthood, with the result that

"one Jonathan of the sect of the Sadducees, whose notions are quite contrary to those of the Pharisees . . . made him (Hyrcanus) leave the party of the Pharisees and abolish the decrees they had imposed on the people and punish those who observed them. From this source arose that hatred which he and his sons met with from the multitude. . . . What I would now explain is this, that the Pharisees have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers which are not written in the Law of Moses;<sup>2</sup> and for that reason it is that the Sadducees reject them and say that we are to esteem those observances to be obligatory which are in the written word, but are not to observe what are derived from the tradition of our forefathers. And concerning these things it is that great disputes and differences have arisen among them. The Sadducees are able to persuade none but the rich, and have not the populace obsequious to them, but the Pharisees have the multitude on their side."<sup>3</sup>

It was the Pharisees who stirred up the people against Alexander Janneus.<sup>4</sup> At his death Alexander gave the

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XIII. x. 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 5.

government into the hands of his wife Alexandra, and to encourage her he advised her to

"put some of her authority into the hands of the Pharisees, for they would commend her for the honour she had done them and would reconcile the nation to her. He told her they had great authority among the Jews both to do hurt to such as they hated, and to bring advantages to those to whom they were friendly disposed; for that they are then believed best of all by the multitude when they speak any severe thing against others, though it be only out of envy at them. And he said that it was by their means that he had incurred the displeasure of the nation."<sup>1</sup>

Alexandra followed this advice:

"She made Hyrcanus (II.) High Priest because he was the elder, but much more because he cared not to meddle with politics, and permitted the Pharisees to do everything, to whom also she bade the multitude be obedient. She also restored again those practices which the Pharisees had introduced according to the traditions of their forefathers, and which her father-in-law Hyrcanus had abrogated. So she had indeed the name of Regent, but the Pharisees had the authority, for it was they who restored such as had been banished, and set at liberty such as were prisoners. Indeed, to say all at once, they differed in nothing from lords. However the Queen also took care of the affairs of the kingdom . . . and the country was entirely at peace—excepting the Pharisees, for they disturbed the Queen."<sup>2</sup>

In the parallel passage in the *Wars*<sup>3</sup> Josephus is still more outspoken:

"The Pharisees joined themselves to Alexandra to assist her in the government. These are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree, as being herself a woman of great piety towards God. But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs. They banished and reduced whom they pleased, they bound and loosed men at their pleasure, and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority, whilst the expenses and difficulties of it belonged to Alexandra . . . she governed other people and the Pharisees governed her."

Elsewhere Josephus points out the inability of the Pharisees to live peaceably:

"There was a certain sect of men that were Jews, they valued themselves highly upon the exact skill they had in the Law of their fathers,

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* XVII. ii. 4.

and made men believe that they were highly favoured by God. . . . These are those that are called the sect of the Pharisees, who were in a capacity of greatly opposing Kings. A cunning sect they were and soon elevated to a pitch of open fighting and doing mischief. Accordingly, when all the people of the Jews gave assurance of their good will to Cæsar and to the King's government, these very men did not take the oath, being above six thousand.”

iii. **The Sadducees.** After describing the Pharisees, “who introduce the first sect,” Josephus goes on to say:

“But the Sadducees are those that compose the second order; they take away fate entirely, and suppose that God is not concerned in our doing or not doing what is evil. And they say that to do what is good or what is evil is at men's own choice, and that the one or the other belongs so to everyone that they may act as they please. They also take away belief in the immortal duration of the soul, as also in punishments and rewards in Hades. Moreover the Pharisees are friendly to one another and are for the exercise of concord and regard for the public. But the behaviour of the Sadducees one towards another is in some degree wild, and their conversation with those that are of their own party is as barbarous as if they were strangers to them.”<sup>1</sup>

This last remark throws a lurid light on John xi. 49-50. We have already given the passages where Josephus speaks of the opposition of the Sadducees to the Pharisees,<sup>2</sup> as also of their influence with the rich but not with the poor,<sup>3</sup> and of their holding only to the Law and not to the traditions handed down by the fathers.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere Josephus adds some interesting details regarding the Sadducees:

“The doctrine of the Sadducees is this: That souls die with the bodies. Nor do they regard the observation of anything besides what the Law enjoins them, for they think it an instance of virtue to dispute with those teachers of philosophy whom they frequent. But this doctrine is received by but a few, though still by those of the greatest dignity. But they are able to do almost nothing of themselves, for when they become magistrates, as they have unwillingly and by force sometimes to be, they addict themselves to the notions of the Pharisees because the multitude would not otherwise endure them.”<sup>5</sup>

## B. Official Life.

i. **The Scribes.** From the very earliest times the Law had to be written, *e.g.*, Deut. xvii. 18, xxxi. 24-26, 1 Sam x. 25, and in consequence the position of a scribe

<sup>1</sup> Wars, II. viii. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ant. XIII. x. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. XVIII. i. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



or copier was an important and honourable one, *cf.* Prov. xxv. 1, Ps. xlv. 2, Isa. xxxiii. 18 (LXX), Ecclus. x. 5, xxxviii. 25, Dan. xi. 33-35, xii. 3. In 1 Paral. ii. 55, we seem to have an indication of an existing guild of scribes. Esdras is known as the "ready scribe," *cf.* Esdras vii. 6, 10, 21; Neh. viii. 9, xii. 35. Note, too, the number of scribes or recorders who are mentioned in O.T. It would be a mistake, however, to place in the same category the N.T. scribes, who are reprobated by our Lord, and the scribes of O.T., *e.g.* Saphan, 4 Kings xxii. 8, etc. Esdras and Baruch, *cf.* Jer. xxxvi. 2-4, 18, 32. For while the fires of the exile purified the people from idolatry, they at the same time taught them the paramount importance of observance of the Law. This Law was copied with the utmost care; by a natural consequence these same copyists became its interpreters, and in course of time their interpretations of the Law came to transcend in importance the Law itself.

An interesting proof of the position assigned to these "lawyers" is to be found in the Septuagint translation, which in many places renders the Hebrew word שֹׁטֵר by γραμματεὺς or "scribe." St. Jerome renders this word by *exactor, magister, dux, decanus, doctor*, but never, as far as we know, by *scriba*, *cf.* Exod. v. 6, Num. xi. 16, Deut. xx. 5; see also Deut. i. 15, xvi. 18, xxix. 10, xxxi. 28, where the same word is rendered by γραμματοεισαγωγέως. This shows that at the time the Pentateuch was translated into Greek the position of the scribe was paramount. Thus in the LXX version of Job xxxvii. 20 Eliu says to Job: *I have never had the assistance of either book or scribe.*

The consequence of this dominance of the scribes was that by the time of Christ the Jewish religion had become the worship of a multitude of human traditions rather than of the Book itself—a burden which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, as St. Peter complains, Acts xv. 10.

The scribes were not necessarily either Pharisees or Sadducees. They arose apparently from the "congregation of the Assideans," to whose efforts the success of the Maccabean rising was due, 1 Macc. ii. 42, *cf.* especially vii. 12-13. From this same body arose in later times the various sects, Pharisees, Essenes, etc.

The excessive "legalism" of the scribes and their attachment to their own interpretation of the Law led to their jealousy of Christ and their final rejection of Him. Their

interpretations took the form of what was known as *Halacha*, or traditional decisions on points of the Law, *cf.* Mark vii. 3; they insisted on these to the detriment of real moral obligations, *cf.* Mark vii. 9-13. They had also a system of interpretation known as *Haggada*, which consisted in the accumulation of legends based on Scripture history.

ii. The *Sanhedrin*, συνέδριον, in the English versions “the Council,” the Greek name for the Jewish judicial assembly. The root idea of this judicial assembly is undoubtedly to be sought in Exod. xviii. 13-26, where on Jethro’s advice Moses summons a number of experienced men to assist him in the task of hearing cases; we have a parallel instance in Num. xi. 16-17, 24-25, where the Spirit of the Lord is poured out upon seventy of the Elders of Israel with a view to their assisting Moses, *cf.* Deut. i. 9, 17, as also Josaphat’s action in appointing judges, 2 Paral. xix. 8-11. But the fact that this judicial assembly of N.T. times is known by a Greek name compels us to refer the actual creation of the assembly as we see it in force in N.T. to the period of the Greek or Seleucidan Kings who held sway over Israel after the days of Alexander the Great.

In this connexion it is interesting to note that whereas in the Pentateuch<sup>1</sup> the Greek word used for the assembly of the Elders is *γερονσία*, a term which also appears in Maccabean times,<sup>2</sup> the word *συνέδριον* only appears in Ps. xxv. (xxvi.) 4, Jer. xv. 17, and eight times in Proverbs, where on six occasions it represents an addition to the Hebrew text.<sup>3</sup> The verb occurs in Ecclus. xxiii. 14 (Vulgate 18) and in the LXX of Daniel (not *Theodotion*) xiii. 28 (*Susanna*).

In 1 Macc. xiv. 28 we find mention of “the Great Synagogue,” and a comparison with xii. 6 suggests the identity of this with the *γερονσία* or *Sanhedrin*.<sup>4</sup> This com-

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Exod. iii. 16, Lev. ix. 1, Num. xxii. 4, Deut. v. 20, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Macc. xii. 6, 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Prov. xi. 13, xxii. 10 (*bis*), xxiv. 7, xxvii. 22, xxxi. 23; in xxvi. 26 it represents the Hebrew לִהְיוֹת, Vulgate, *in concilio*.

<sup>4</sup> The expressions used are worth noting for the constitution of the *Sanhedrin*: 1 Macc. xiv. 28, ἐπὶ συναγωγῆς μεγάλης τῶν ἱερέων καὶ λαοῦ καὶ ἀρχόντων ἔθνους καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῆς χώρας. In xii. 6 we have ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ ἡ γερονσία καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς δῆμος τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

paratively late origin for the Sanhedrin as we find it in N.T. times is borne out by Josephus; he tells us that Antiochus the Great was met by the Jerusalem *γερονσία*;<sup>1</sup> it is only when we come to the times of Hyrcanus II. that he speaks expressly of the Sanhedrin;<sup>2</sup> while elsewhere he seems to draw an express distinction between the *Sanhedrin* of Jerusalem and the *Senate* of Tiberias.<sup>3</sup>

The number of members of the Sanhedrin is stated in the Talmud to have been seventy-one, presumably seventy besides the President. That they had the power to adjudicate upon capital questions seems to follow from Matt. v. 22. Except in this passage and in Matt. x. 17 and Mark xiii. 9 where reference is made in a general sense to the "councils" of the Jews, the Sanhedrin is only referred to in the Gospels apropos of the trial of our Lord: Matt. xxvi. 59, Mark xiv. 55, xv. 1, Luke xxii. 66, John xi. 47. Peter and John were summoned before it, Acts iv. 15; the Apostles, too, as a body, v. 21 ff.; Stephen also, vi. 12, 15; and St. Paul, xxii. 30, xxiii. 1 ff., *cf.* xxiv. 20.

iii. *Synagogue*. The word "synagogue" is Greek and is best represented in English by "assembly," *cf.* Jas. ii. 2, or by "congregation," *cf.* Ecclus. iv. 7, xli. 22 (18). The Greek word stands as a rule for the Hebrew עֲדָה which is represented in the Vulgate and the Douay by "multitude" or simply by "people," *e.g.* Lev. iv. 15, *seniores populi*, Num. xxvii. 16-17, *multitudo* and *populus Domini*. The word "synagogue" stands in the N.T. for the "*place of assembly*" rather than for the actual people so assembled. In Acts xvi. 13 it is "the place of prayer," *cf.* Isa. lvi. 7, "My house of prayer," lx. 7, "the House of *My Majesty*" in the Vulgate and the Hebrew, but in the LXX "*of prayer.*" The origin of the synagogues as distinct from the Temple is unknown. That they were ancient may follow from Acts xv. 21. At the time of Christ they appear to have been very numerous as is clear from N.T. According to the Talmudical writers there were 394, or according to some authorities, 480 synagogues in Jerusalem alone at the time of its destruction by Titus. These synagogues were not only places in which the Law and the Prophets were

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XII. iii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* XIV. ix. 4-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, 12 and 13.

read, Luke iv., they also served as the schools for the children, while from Matt. x. 17, xxiii. 34, Mark xiii. 9, Luke xii. 11, Acts ix. 2, xxii. 19, xxvi. 11, it is clear that they were also places of correction. Considering the number of synagogues in Palestine it is remarkable that so few remains of them have been discovered. It is, however, interesting to note in illustration of John vi. 60, that Wilson discovered at Tell Hum—which almost certainly represents Capharnaum—the remains of a synagogue. Oliphant also discovered the remains of several on the N.E. shore of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>1</sup>

That the Jews excommunicated people is clear from John ix. 22, *if any man should confess Him to be Christ, he should be put out of the synagogue*, cf. xii. 42, xvi. 2.

iv. **Proselytes.** The term “Proselyte,” προσήλυτος, means literally “one who is drawn to.” The possibility of foreigners being “drawn to” join with the Jews is clearly shown in Exod. xii. 48, where it is demanded that in such a case a man be circumcised before he can eat the Paschal lamb. We are repeatedly told in the Pentateuch, e.g. Deut. xxvi. 12, that “strangers” dwelt in their midst, cf. Exod. xii. 19, 38, Num. xi. 4. Isaias, xiv. 1, prophesies that such “strangers” shall be added to the nation, and in Esther, viii. 17, Judith, xiv. 10, we read of such converts to Judaism. The LXX nearly always translates the Hebrew word נָכְרִי by προσήλυτος, but it does not follow that these “proselytes” were such in the strict sense of the term; indeed the Hebrews themselves are termed “proselytes” in Egypt, e.g. Exod. xxii. 21, etc., so that the word must be understood to mean simply “strangers.”

In N.T. the Pharisees are blamed because they went *round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte, and when he is made you make him a child of hell twofold more than yourselves*, Matt. xxiii. 15. This shows us that the Jews of Christ's time did endeavour to induce men to join themselves to their worship. Josephus, too, tells of many such proselytes.<sup>2</sup> In Acts we frequently read of “those who

<sup>1</sup> *Palestine Exploration Fund Reports*, 1878, p. 128; 1886, p. 73-78; 1907, p. 115; *R.B.* 1892, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Ant.* XX. ii. 4, of Helena, Queen of Adiabene; and XVIII. iii. 5, of Fulvia, a Roman matron.

feared God " or who " worshipped God." This expression is apparently the equivalent of " proselyte." The distinction between " proselytes of the Gate " and " proselytes of justice " does not belong to N.T. times, these are later terms employed by the Rabbis. It is clear from Exod. xii. 48, that, if circumcized, a stranger could eat the Paschal lamb ; when, then, we find that St. Peter was blamed for eating with Cornelius, Acts xi. 3, *cf.* x. 28, we must suppose that, however devout Cornelius may have been, he was yet not a full circumcised Jew. Consequently it seems clear that the " devout men," " religious men," " God-fearing men," who are so often named in N.T., were not really proselytes in the full sense of the term. We have an instance of this in the case of the Centurion who had built the Jews a synagogue and who can hardly be supposed to have been a circumcised Roman practising the hated Jewish religion, Luke vii. 4-5.

v. The Dispersion, *Διάσπορα*.<sup>1</sup> We should have but a narrow view of Israel and of the task divinely committed to that nation if we confined our attention solely to Palestine. Moses had long ago foretold the " dispersion " of Israel amongst the nations of the world,<sup>2</sup> and his words were verified in those successive deportations of the defeated populace which were so characteristic of Assyrian policy.<sup>3</sup> It would be a mistake to think that those who returned under Zorobabel represented more than a fraction of those who had settled for good in Babylonia. Vast numbers were unaffected by the invitation to return ; they had prospered and, *where thy treasure is there is thy heart also*. Moreover, while the exile was a punishment, it was for the world's gain. Whatever their faults, the Jews who went into exile were monotheists, the fires of the exile had purged out any tendency to idolatry. Their rigid monotheism made appeals to many, and in this sense the scattered Jews were, in accordance with Isaias' prophecy, *a light for the illumination of the Gentiles*. Nor were these exiles confined to

<sup>1</sup> For the term *διάσπορα* see Isa. xlix. 6 (LXX) and Jer. xv. 7, *διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν διάσπορᾳ*, and the prayer of Nehemias, 2 Macc. i. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Deut. xxviii. 36, 64, xxix. 28.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kings xv. 29, xvii., xxiv. 12-16, xxv. 11 ; Jer. lii. 15.



Babylon; they went down into Egypt,<sup>1</sup> they became mercenaries under Alexander<sup>2</sup> and he bestowed upon them large privileges in his new city of Alexandria.<sup>3</sup> They founded a temple at Leontopolis or Onion,<sup>4</sup> they passed into Syria and Josephus tells us that at Damascus no less than eighteen thousand were slain on one occasion,<sup>5</sup> while at Antioch their number was immense.<sup>6</sup> They flocked into Asia Minor, where Aristotle came into contact with a Jewish philosopher who astonished him by his learning,<sup>7</sup> while Josephus has preserved for us a series of Decrees passed in their favour in Asia by Julius Cæsar and Antony.<sup>8</sup> In Cyprus, Crete and Cyrene they were equally numerous.<sup>9</sup> In Italy their numbers were so great that eight thousand came forward in support of the delegation from Jerusalem against the tyranny of Archelaus.<sup>10</sup>

When we grasp these facts the gathering at Pentecost, *Jews, devout men of every nation under heaven*, takes on a new character. It is no hyperbole on St. Luke's part; it is in accordance with what we should expect. Further, whereas the exiles in Babylonia became to all intents Babylonians, those who were “dispersed” throughout the rest of the world became Hellenes. They spoke the Greek language, they lived in the paths of Greek commerce, they formed part of that immense body of Greek thought which dominated the known world. But with all that they were still Jews. Hence the Greek Bible, one of the most potent factors for the dissemination of religion; hence the prevalence of monotheistic ideas at the time of Christ's coming; hence—humanly speaking—the amazingly rapid spread of Christianity throughout the world.

In N.T. the references to the “Dispersion” are numerous, though they do not always meet the eye; thus, in addition

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xliii-xliv.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus *Contra Apion*, i. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 4; *B.J.* II. xviii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XII. ix. 7, XIII. iii. 1; *B.J.* I. i. 1, VII. x. 2-4.

<sup>5</sup> *B.J.* II. xx. 2; VII. viii. 7. For the wide extent of this “dispersion” see *B.J.* VII. iii. 3, and *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Contra Apion*, II. 4; *B.J.* VII. iii. 3; *Ant.* XIII. v. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Contra Apion*, I. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Ant.* XIV. x. and xii. 3.

<sup>9</sup> For Cyprus see *Ant.* XIII. x. 4; for Crete, *B.J.* II. vii. 1; for Cyrene, *Ant.* V. vi. 1-8.

<sup>10</sup> *B.J.* II. vi. 1.

to such positive references as John vii. 35, Jas. i. 1, 1 Pet. i. 1, we should notice the constant reference to the "Greeks" or "Hellenes;" these sometimes stand for actual Greeks, sometimes also for Greek-speaking Jews.<sup>1</sup>

vi. Publicans. The word "publican" is from the Latin *publicanus*, which is formed from the adjective *publicus* signifying "what concerns the state;" *publicanus* meant in the mouth of a Roman "what concerns the public revenue." Hence a "publican" came to signify one who looked after the public revenue and its collection. It was the custom of the Romans to farm out these revenues to the highest bidder; the latter agreed to pay a fixed sum and then made what he could out of it by oppressing the people. Long before the time of Christ the Jews had suffered from this species of oppression. Thus Josephus tells us how the richest men approached the Kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, to obtain the privilege of collecting the customs, with consequent gross abuse of their power.<sup>2</sup> An inscription from Palmyra (Tadmor) dating from the year 137 A.D. shows us the measures taken to limit these abuses.<sup>3</sup> In Palestine the revenues were paid to the Imperial treasury through the Procurator. Hence a Jew who, for the sake of gain, undertook to farm the taxes to be collected from his oppressed fellow-countrymen was a subject of peculiar odium. Zacheus, Luke xix. 2, is named "the chief of the publicans," *i.e.*, he was not a subordinate agent but one who, presumably, sublet the taxes. N.T. shows us publicans at Jericho, Luke xix. 1-2; and at Capharnaum, Matt. ix. 9, Mark ii. 14, Luke v. 27; the "seat of custom" here mentioned was established on the "via maris" or great trade-route between East and West, *cf.* Matt. iv. 15.

vii. The Moneys of the New Testament Times.<sup>4</sup> The Roman domination in Palestine must be taken into account when treating of the coinage systems in use in N.T. times. The Jews had from the very earliest times paid the yearly

<sup>1</sup> See Batiffol, *R.B.* April, 1907; Schürer, *H.J.P.* II. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XII. iv. 1, 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, No. 147, Clarendon Press, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> For this section the student should refer to the article on *Money* in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III. See also Vol. I. of these "Aids," p. 167-171.

tax of half-a-shekel to the sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> Hence there must always have been current amongst them coins or their equivalent to facilitate the collection of this tribute.<sup>2</sup> From about B.C. 450 to A.D. 200 coins were issued by the mint at Tyre, which city, like Gaza, Sidon, etc., possessed an independent mint of its own. Thus during the Ptolemaic and Seleucidan occupations of Phœnicia we find the Jews dependent on the Tyrian mint for their supply of shekels. These shekels appear to have existed in the double form of the heavy and light shekels, *viz.* the tetradrachm and the didrachma,<sup>3</sup> though this latter was a comparatively rare coin. When the Romans came upon the scene they found the Attic drachma was the silver unit and it corresponded to the Roman denarius; the tetradrachm was also in use, but apparently not the didrachma. As the tetradrachm was the equivalent of the shekel one<sup>4</sup> coin served for two people who wished to pay the Sanctuary tribute; hence the scene depicted in Matt. xvii. 23-26 must have been a usual one. At a later period we find the Imperial mints at Antioch and Cæsarea producing drachmas and tetradrachmas or staters.

Thus in Roman Imperial times there existed a double standard in Palestine, the Roman and the Phœnician, the only values common to the two being the Roman denarius and the Phœnician drachma. A further source of confusion lay in the power to coin bronze or copper coins of their own which the various suzerains conceded to their vassals. Thus Antiochus VII., Sidetes, conceded to Simon the Hasmonean the power to coin;<sup>5</sup> the Romans gave the

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xxx. 13, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 8, Neh. x. 32.

<sup>3</sup> See Origen, *Tom.* XIII. 13 in *Matth.* P.G. XIII. 1125; and note how the “five thousand sicles of silver” of 1 Macc. x. 42 is rendered by Josephus as “ten thousand drachmæ,” *Ant.* XIII. ii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> So St. Jerome on Ezech. iv. 10, “Siclus autem, id est stater, habet drachmas quatuor.” *P.L.* XXV. 48.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Macc. xv. 5. It used to be supposed that the silver shekels bearing the date “year 1” to “year 5” and inscribed “Shekel of Israel” and “Jerusalem the Holy” were to be referred to this same Simon. But the arguments against this view have been forcibly stated by Kennedy (*Money*, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, p. 424), they may be summarised thus (a) as a general rule power to coin in bronze only was so conceded. (b) The years 1-5 would take us back to a time when Demetrius II. was still on the throne. (c) The fact that we have no coins after the time of Simon remains unexplained. (d) Lastly these silver shekels do not resemble the known contemporary silver coins of that period.

same power to Herod the Great, and we have a long and complicated series of bronze coins of his successors Herod Antipas, Philip the Tetrarch and Agrippa II. Moreover, the Roman Procurators also produced the *quadrans* or "farthing," presumably from a mint at Cæsarea.

The following tables of values will make for clearness, though they will also serve to show how complicated is the question of the relative values to be assigned to each piece of money.

## *Table of Roman Values.*

The <i>quadrans</i>	= English <i>farthing</i> .
4 quadrantes	= 1 <i>as</i> .
2 quadrantes	= $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>as</i> or <i>semis</i> = $\frac{1}{16}$ th of a <i>denarius</i> .
2 asses	= <i>dipondius</i> , Luke xii. 6 in Vulgate.
4 asses	= 1 <i>sesterce</i> .
4 sesterces	= $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>denarius</i> .
16 sesterces	= 1 <i>denarius</i> .
25 denarii	= 1 <i>aureus</i> <sup>1</sup> = $\frac{1}{40}$ th of a <i>libra</i> or <i>pound</i> .

## *Table of Palestinian Silver Coins.*

The <i>Denarius</i>	= 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in English money, the equivalent of the <i>drachma</i> .
100 denarii	= 1 <i>Mina</i> <sup>2</sup> = £1.
60 Mina	= 1 <i>Talent</i> <sup>3</sup> = the Roman-Attic Talent = 6000 <i>denarii</i> = £240.

## *Table of Palestinian Copper or Bronze Coins.*

The <i>Lepton</i>	= Aramaic <i>Perutah</i> = $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an <i>as</i> = $\frac{1}{2}$ the <i>quadrans</i> = $\frac{1}{16}$ th of the <i>denarius</i> .
2 leptà	= 1 <i>quadrans</i> = $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of a <i>farthing</i> .
The <i>assarion</i>	= perhaps the Roman <i>as</i> = $\frac{1}{24}$ th of the <i>denarius</i> .
2 assaria	= 1 <i>dipondius</i> .

To these must be added the *drachma*, the *didrachma* and the *stater* or *tetradrachma*. These coins with their nomenclature date from the Phœnician mints.

The *drachma* was the Eastern equivalent of the *denarius* = 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. English money.

The *didrachma* or two-drachma piece was the equivalent of the Jewish half-shekel = 1s. 6d. in English money.

The *stater* or *tetradrachm* was equivalent to the shekel = 3s. 2d. in English money.

<sup>1</sup> The *aureus* is not mentioned in N.T., but cf. 4 Kings v. 5 and 2 Paral. ix. 15-16.

<sup>2</sup> Luke xix. 16-24.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xviii. 24, xxv. 15-28; Apoc. xvi. 21.

*The Moneys actually mentioned in N.T.*

<i>Greek.</i>	<i>Vulgate.</i>	<i>Rheims or Challoner.</i>	<i>Revised Version.</i>	<i>Value.</i>
Λέπτον <sup>1</sup>	minutum	mite	mite	$\frac{1}{8}$ th as, $\frac{1}{8}$ d. farthing
Κονδράντης <sup>2</sup>	quadrans	farthing	farthing	$\frac{1}{4}$ as, $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a denarius
Δηνάριον <sup>3</sup>	denarius	penny	penny	4 sesterces, 16 as, $\frac{1}{5}$ th aureus, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. English
Ἀσδάριον <sup>4</sup>	as	farthing	farthing	about half-penny
Ἀσσαρίων δύο <sup>5</sup>	dipondius	two farthings	two farthings	
Δραχμή <sup>6</sup>	drachma	groat	piece of silver	same value as the denarius, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. English
Δίδραγμα <sup>7</sup>	didrachma	didrachma	half-shekel	1s. 6d.
Στατήρα <sup>8</sup>	stater	stater	shekel	same value as the Phœnician tetradrachm, 3s. 2d.
Ἀργύρια <sup>9</sup>	argenteus	pieces of silver	pieces of silver; these may have been either drachmas or tetradrachmas <sup>10</sup>	

The “talent” in Matt. xxv. was not a coin. See Vol. I., pp. 167-171.

<sup>1</sup> Mark xii. 42, Luke xxi. 2, “the widow’s mite.” Luke xii. 59, “last mite,” but *cf.* Matt. v. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 26, Mark xii. 42.

<sup>3</sup> Often in N.T. and always—though absurdly—rendered “penny” or “pence”; “shilling” would be the more correct term or better still “franc.”

<sup>4</sup> Matt. x. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Luke xii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Luke xv. 8-9, the rendering in Rheims “groat” is less confusing than the “piece of silver” in R.V. which has the same rendering for ἀργύρια, Matt. xxvi. 15, xxvii. 3 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Matt. xvii. 24.

<sup>8</sup> Matt. xvii. 27.

<sup>9</sup> Matt. xxvi. 15, etc.; Acts xix 19.

<sup>10</sup> Job xlii. 17,



Certain measures are also mentioned in N.T. and are unfortunately always and indiscriminately rendered "measure" in the Revised Version :

<i>Greek.</i>	<i>Vulgate.</i>	<i>Rheims and Challoner.</i>	<i>Revised Version.</i>
Σάρον <sup>1</sup>	Sata	Measures	Measures
Βάτος <sup>2</sup>	Cados	Barrels	Measures
Κόρος <sup>3</sup>	Coros	(" Pipes " Rheims)	
Χοῖνιξ <sup>4</sup>	Bilibris	Quarters	Measures
		Pounds	Measures

viii. Tribute. The tribute referred to in N.T. is, with the exception of two instances where D.V. has *custom*, the tax levied by the Romans on the Jews. The question was put to Christ: *Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or no?* Matt. xxii. 17, Mark xii. 14, Luke xx. 22; in spite of His answer He was accused of *forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar*, Luke xxiii. 2; in Matt. xvii. 23-26, we have the demand for the payment of the didrachma, or two-drachma piece, or half-shekel; the stater miraculously found in the fish's mouth was a four-drachma piece. But Christ points out the injustice of making the children pay a tribute which the Kings of the earth properly exacted from strangers: *of whom do the Kings of the earth receive tribute or custom?* Thus St. Paul says: *Let every soul be subject to higher powers . . . for therefore also do you pay tribute. . . . Render therefore to all men their dues. Tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom. . . .* Rom. xiii. 1, 6-7. The distinction between these two terms "tribute" and "custom" is to be sought in the Greek: *φόρος* or *tribute* implies a burden imposed by a foreign power; *τέλος* or *custom* is the generic word for imposts or taxes which do not denote subjection. The student should note how correct St. Luke is in his use of *φόρος* in xx. 22, xxiii. 2, and *cf.* the parallel to xx. 22, in Matthew and Mark.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 33, Luke xiii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Luke xvi. 6, *cf.* Ezech. xlv. 10, 11, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Luke xvi. 7.

Apoc. vi. 6.

ix. **The Temple.** The Temple of Solomon had been destroyed by the Chaldeans, Jer. lii. 13, but was restored on a smaller scale, Esdras iii. 8-13, vi. 14-16, on the return from the Captivity. To this second Temple the Messias was to come, Agg. ii. 7-10, Mal. iii. 1-3. But even this second Temple had suffered much, and Josephus tells us how the great cloisters were set on fire by the Romans under Sabinus at the time that Archelaus went to Rome to get his kingdom confirmed to him.<sup>1</sup> Before this date, however, Herod the Great had begun to restore the Temple in his eighteenth year,<sup>2</sup> or in his fifteenth year as Josephus says elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> This may have been about 18 B.C.,<sup>4</sup> and the work was not completed till the Procuratorship of Albinus, A.D. 62-64.<sup>5</sup> Josephus tells us that Herod "took away the old foundations" apparently of the cloisters on the east side;<sup>6</sup> also that the land enclosed for the Temple "was twice as large as before."<sup>7</sup> Herod himself, as not being a priest, did not enter into the inner court but confined his personal attention to the cloisters and the outer court;<sup>8</sup> the priests rebuilt the Temple itself and the inner court.<sup>9</sup> On the north side stood the old Hasmonean fort which Herod now restored and called *Antonia* in honour of Mark Antony.<sup>10</sup> The cloisters on the east came to be known as Solomon's Porch.<sup>11</sup> The inner court of the Temple was enclosed by a wall on which there were inscriptions "which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death."<sup>12</sup> One of these inscriptions was recovered by Clermont Ganneau in 1871,<sup>13</sup> and serves as an interesting comment on Acts xxi. 28, and Ephes. ii. 14. The large gate which gave admittance to this inner court from the east was probably the Beautiful Gate of Acts iii. 2; the gate generally pointed out as such in the east wall of

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVII. x. 2; *B.J.* II. iii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *B.J.* I. xxi. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XX. ix. 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> *B.J.* I. xxi. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, XV. xi. 3; *B.J.* I. xxi. 1; V. v. 8.

<sup>11</sup> John x. 23; Acts iii. 11, v. 12; *Ant.* XX. ix. 7; *B.J.* V. v. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Ant.* XII. iii. 4, XV. xi. 5. According to *Wars*, V. v. 2, these inscriptions were in Greek and Latin; according to *Wars*, VI. i. 4, in Greek and Hebrew.

<sup>13</sup> For this inscription see p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XV. xi. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XV. xi. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ant.* XV. xi. 5.

the Haram enclosure is of later date, being of Byzantine architecture.<sup>1</sup>

It should be noted that in N.T. the word *temple* is used to render two distinct words, *ναός* and *ἱερόν*. The former denoted the shrine or the holy portion of the Temple, the latter denoted the whole Temple enclosure. Josephus makes special mention of the golden vine which Herod placed in the porch of the Temple;<sup>2</sup> it is possible to see in John xv. 1 an allusion to this.

Inscription regarding the precincts of the Temple, discovered by M. Clermont Ganneau in 1871 (see *Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem Vol.* p. 423):

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ ΕΙΣΠΟ  
ΡΕΤΕΣΘΑΙ ΕΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΕ  
ΡΙ ΤΟ ΙΕΡΟΝ ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΤ ΚΑΙ  
ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΤ ΟΣΔ' ΑΝ ΛΗ  
ΦΘΗ ΕΑΤΤΩΙ ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ΕΣ  
ΤΑΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΤ  
ΘΕΙΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ

“No stranger is to enter within the balustrade round the Temple and enclosure. Whosoever is caught will be responsible to himself for his death, which will ensue.” (Cf. also *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1871, p. 132.)

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<sup>1</sup> *B.J.* V. v. 3, 5. For Herod's Temple see *P.E.F.* April, 1886, and *Expository Times*, January-March, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XV. xi. 3.

## CHAPTER III

### PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

- A. Judæa.
- B. Samaria, and the Samaritans.
- C. Galilee, and the Galileans.
- D. The Sea of Galilee.
- E. Peræa.
- F. The Districts East and North-East  
of the Sea of Galilee.

- i. Trachonitis.
- ii. Batanea.
- iii. Auranitis.
- iv. Gaulonitis.
- v. Iturea.
- vi. Abilene.

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A. **Judea**, more correctly Judæa, derives its name from the tribe of Judah to which the greater number of the Jews who returned at the Restoration belonged.<sup>1</sup> The territory they then occupied was practically co-extensive with the bounds of the old tribe of Judah. According to Josephus it extended "from Joppa to Jordan" and southward to Arabia.<sup>2</sup> Whether Judæa ever extended to the east of Jordan is disputed, see *s.v.* *Peræa*; <sup>3</sup> certainly Josephus<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Esdras i. 5; Josephus, *Ant.* XI. v. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *B.J.* III. iii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See Strabo, XVI. ii. 21, and Tacitus, *Historia* V. 6, as implying that Judæa extended to the east of Jordan; Matt. xix. 1 certainly implies this eastward extension, but in the parallel, Mark x. 11, we have good authority for reading *καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*, thus suggesting a distinction between Judæa and the land to the east of the river.

<sup>4</sup> *B.J.* III. iii. 5 and perhaps *Ant.* XII. iv. 11; but *cf.* Mark xiii. 14, Luke xxi. 21.

gives Pella as the capital of one of the eleven Toparchies into which Judæa was divided. Four distinct districts should be noted in Judæa, (a) the Negeb or "South country" of Gen. xii. 9, xiii. 14, Num. xiii. 18, 23, Jos. xv. 19, etc.; this is, roughly speaking, the district south of Beersheba; (b) the Shephelah, viz. the plain or lowlands, Jos. xi. 16; (c) the hill-country or heights which rise to from 2000-3000 feet above the sea, Luke i. 39, 65, the centre of this district is Hebron, Jos. xx. 7, xxi. 11, cf. xi. 21 and 2 Paral. xxvii. 4; (d) the "wilderness" which stretched from Jerusalem to Jericho and southwards by Engaddi, cf. Matt. iii. 1, Jud. i. 16, etc., this was the scene of John's preaching and of Christ's temptation.

From the Restoration onwards the entire district is spoken of as "Judæa," Neh. vii. 6, 1 Macc. x. 38, or "the land of Judah," Esdras ii. 1, Neh. v. 14, 1 Macc. v. 34, x. 30. In N.T. we have the distinction between Judæa, Samaria and Galilee frequently mentioned, e.g. Acts viii. 1, ix. 31, etc., though St. Luke seems at times to speak of the whole district south of Galilee as "Judæa," cf. Luke iv. 44—if we are to read *Ioudaías* instead of *Γαλιλαίας*—, xxiii. 5, Acts ii. 9, x. 37; at the same time St. John's usage of the terms in iii. 22, iv. 47, 54, vii. 1, 3 should be compared with iv. 4.

Herod the Great was "King in Judæa," Luke i. 5; Archelaus "reigned in his stead," Matt. ii. 22, as Ethnarch over Judæa, Samaria and Idumæa; but after the latter's exile Judæa was added to the Province of Syria and the Roman Procurator lived at Cæsarea.<sup>1</sup>

B. Samaria and the Samaritans. The name Samaria in N.T. refers solely to the district lying between Judæa and Galilee, the old city itself is never mentioned. Omri, father of Achab, is said to have bought the site of the city from one Somer, whence the name of the city, "Samaria."<sup>2</sup> The Samaritans themselves, however, appear to derive their name from the Hebrew root, שָׁמַר "to watch," for they term themselves "the watchers."<sup>3</sup> In O.T. we hear of

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5; XVIII. i. 1, ii. 1; *B.J.* II. viii. 1, ix. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 3 Kings xvi. 24; *Ant.* IX. xii. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, IV. 4257.

the “mountains of Samaria”<sup>1</sup> and also of “the cities of Samaria,”<sup>2</sup> both of these terms indicate the existence of a district which derived its name from the chief city. In O.T. this district-name “Samaria” stands as often as not for the northern kingdom or Israel, also for the tribe of Ephraim.<sup>3</sup> The origin of the mixed population which later came to be known as “Samaritans” is given in 4 Kings xvii-xviii. where we learn that the King of the Assyrians, after deporting the Ten Tribes, filled up their place by people brought from Cutha in Babylonia. Hence they were known in later times as “Cutheans.”<sup>4</sup> It would be a mistake, however, to regard the deportation as complete; that many of the Israelites remained seems clear from such passages as 4 Kings xxiii. 15, 19, 2 Paral. xxxiv. 6. In O.T. history Samaria is of particular interest as the home of Eliseus and the scene of many of his miracles.<sup>5</sup>

The antagonism which prevailed between the Jews and the Samaritans first finds expression in the refusal of the Jews of the Restoration to allow the Samaritans to take part in the rebuilding of the Temple.<sup>6</sup> The Jews felt that the Samaritans were an alien people;<sup>7</sup> they felt too, and with some reason, that the Samaritans claimed to be Jews when it suited them but disclaimed all connexion with them when the Jews were in disfavour.<sup>8</sup> The results of this refusal on the part of the Jews were far-reaching. According to Josephus<sup>9</sup> it was Sanballat, the father-in-law of Manasses the brother of Jaddua the High Priest, who obtained from Darius Codomannus, 336-330 B.C., leave to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim. Such an act intensified the feeling of dislike, and conflicts between the two peoples were frequent. When the Jews of Alexandria built their Temple near Heliopolis in the days of Ptolemy Philopator the Samaritans laid a complaint before Ptolemy and declared that the Mosaic command was that the Temple

<sup>1</sup> Jer. xxxi. 5; Amos iii. 9, iv. 1, vi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 3 Kings xiii. 32; 4 Kings xvii. 24, 26, xxiii. 19; Esdras iv. 19.

<sup>3</sup> 4 Kings xvii. 24, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* IX. xiv. 3; XI. viii. 6, etc.

<sup>5</sup> 4 Kings ii. 25, v. 3, vi. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Esdras iv. 7-24; Neh. iv. 7-13.

<sup>7</sup> Note the term *ἀλλογενής* used of the leper, Luke xvii. 18.

<sup>8</sup> So Josephus more than once, *Ant.* XI. viii. 6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ant.* XI. vii. 2, viii. 2; XIII. ix. 1. It must be confessed however that Josephus' chronology seems at fault here.



was to be erected on Mount Gerizim and not in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The Samaritan Pentateuch went so far as arbitrarily to substitute "Gerizim" for "Ebal" as the Mount of Blessings in Deut. xxvii. 4. We have a reminiscence of the feelings generated by acts such as these in the bitter words of the son of Sirach, "the foolish people that dwell at Sichem," Ecclus. li. 28, and in the contemptuous use of the term "Samaritan" as applied to our Lord, John viii. 48, *cf.* iv. 9, as also in the prohibition against entering the cities of the Samaritans, Matt. x. 5, but *cf.* Luke ix. 52. About the year 128 B.C. Hyrcanus destroyed this Temple and in the year 109 he expelled the Samaritans from the hill itself.<sup>2</sup> Pompey rebuilt the city,<sup>3</sup> and Herod the Great embellished it and called it Sebaste.<sup>4</sup> It was once more rebuilt by the Romans after the suppression of the revolt under Bar Cocheba.

In N.T. times the bitterness subsisting between the two peoples had in no sense subsided, see references above. It is interesting to remark our Lord's efforts to soften it: the Samaritans refused to receive Him *because His face was of one going to Jerusalem*,<sup>5</sup> and though He forbade His disciples to enter into their cities<sup>6</sup> He went thither Himself;<sup>7</sup> one of His parables singles out the good action done by a Samaritan,<sup>8</sup> one of His miracles was performed in favour of one of that despised race.<sup>9</sup> In *Acts* we learn of the evangelisation of Samaria,<sup>10</sup> and we note that while it was not customary for the Jews, even when they came up from Galilee for the Passover, to pass through Samaria, yet Christ did so.<sup>11</sup>

C. Galilee. The northern district of Palestine is not often mentioned under the name of Galilee in O.T.; in Jos. xx. 7, we read of Cedes (Kadesh) of Galilee, *cf.* 1 Paral. vi. 76, 1 Macc. xi. 63; in Jos. xx. 7 this Cedes is

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIII. iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. v. 3, XIII. x. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV. iv. 4; *B.J.* I. ii. 6-7, vii. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XV. viii. 5; *B.J.* I. xxi. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Luke ix. 52-53.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. x. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Luke ix. 52.

<sup>8</sup> Luke x. 33.

<sup>9</sup> Luke xvii. 18; and note St. Augustine's remark on John viii. 48, "Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil;" "He replied: 'I have not a devil.' He did *not* say: 'I am not a Samaritan,'" *Tract.* XIV. 2 in *Joan.*, *P.L.* XXXV. 1707.

<sup>10</sup> i. 8, viii. 1, 5, 9, 14, ix. 31.

<sup>11</sup> John iv. 4, Luke xvii. 11.

spoken of as in *Galilee of Mount Nephtali*, cf. Tob. i. 1, as though Nephtali and Galilee were practically synonymous terms. Solomon gave to Hiram twenty cities of Galilee, 3 Kings ix. 11, and Tiglath-Pileser captured Galilee, 4 Kings xv. 29. The expression *Galilee of the Gentiles* only occurs in Isa. ix. 1, quoted in Matt. iv. 15-16, though it is probable that the expression *the King of the nations of Galgal*, Jos. xii. 23, may contain a reference to it. Cf. also Judith i. 8, 1 Macc. v. 15.

The boundaries of Galilee are laid down by Josephus: on the west, Ptolemais (Acco) and Carmel; on the south, Samaria and Scythopolis (Bethsan); on the east, Hippene, Gadaris and Gaulonitis; on the north, Tyre and the country of the Tyrians.<sup>1</sup> Josephus always distinguishes between Upper and Lower Galilee,<sup>2</sup> the dividing line between the two districts being apparently drawn along the valley of Er-Ramah, perhaps the Arama of Jos. xix. 36, this valley practically runs along a line drawn from Acco to the north shore of the Sea of Galilee.

The fertility of the district was proverbial; Solomon could not have presented the twenty cities to Hiram unless they were well worth having. Josephus dwells in enthusiastic terms on the products of Galilee,<sup>3</sup> and his accounts of the dense population of the district read almost like fairy-tale, for he tells us that there were two hundred and forty cities in Galilee and that there were 15,000 inhabitants in the least of them!<sup>4</sup>

D. The Sea of Galilee. This beautiful inland sea is called the *Lake of Gennesaret* in Luke v. 1; simply the *lake*, Luke v. 2, viii. 22, 23, 33; the *sea*, John vi. 11-25; the *sea of Tiberias*, John vi. 1, xxi. 1; the *sea of Galilee*, Matt. iv. 18, xv. 29, Mark i. 16, vii. 31, John vi. 1; in O.T. the *sea of Chinnereth*, Num. xxxiv. 11, Jos. xi. 2, xiii. 27, Deut. iii. 17; the *waters of Gennesareth*, 1 Macc. xi. 67, Jos. Ant. XIII. v. 7. Josephus speaks with enthusiasm of the beauty of this sea and furnishes us with an interesting account of the fish peculiar to it.<sup>5</sup> The dimensions he assigns to the sea, however, are hardly accurate, for he calls it 40 furlongs

<sup>1</sup> Wars, III. iii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. and Life, 37.

<sup>3</sup> Wars, III. iii. 2-3, x. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., III. iii. 2; Life, 45.

<sup>5</sup> Wars III. x. 7.

broad and 140 furlongs long ; the actual measurements are 7 miles across in the broadest part, and 13 miles long. The greatest depth is 200 feet. The lake is surrounded by hills which attain a height of 2,000 feet and which generally approach very near the water's edge, though there is always room for a carriage to drive round, a drive which can be accomplished in some four to five hours. Practically the entire sea-line must have been occupied by towns and villages in the time of our Lord and the lake must have presented a busy scene, for Josephus tells us incidentally that on one occasion he mustered no fewer than two hundred and forty ships (not mere boats) at Taricheæ.<sup>1</sup>

E. *Peræa* is the name given by Josephus<sup>2</sup> to the district reaching from Machærus on the east of the Dead Sea to Pella and extending from the Jordan to Arabia eastwards. It may roughly be described as reaching from the R. Arnon in the south to the River Yarmuk or Hieromax in the north. It is never named expressly in N.T., but we repeatedly find the expression "across Jordan." It is not always clear, however, whether this refers to the east or to the west of the river. Thus in Matt. iv. 15, it seems clearly to refer to the West since it is apparently identified with Zabulon. In Matt. iv. 25, Mark iii. 8, it seems to refer to the east. Again, the place "where John was baptizing" must have been on the east of Jordan, *cf.* John i. 28, iii. 26, x. 40. It is not so clear whether we are to understand from Matt. xix. 1, Mark x. 1, that Christ preached in *Peræa* after closing His ministry in Galilee, for it remains to be proved that the expression "the coasts of Judæa beyond Jordan" can be applied to the east ; was the east ever called "*Judæa*" ? On this question depends another : did the ministry set forth in Luke ix. 51, xviii. 17, take place in *Peræa* or was it confined to Samaria ? For an account of the district see *Palestine Exploration Report*, July, 1885, pp. 157-180.

F. *The Districts to the East and North-East of the Sea of Galilee.* St. Luke tells us that "Philip was Tetrarch of Iturea and the country of Trachonitis, and Lysanias Tetrarch of Abilene," iii. 1. The history and precise geographical divisions of these districts are little known

<sup>1</sup> *Wars*, II. xxi. 8 ; *Life*, 32.

<sup>2</sup> *B.J.* III. iii. 3 ; IV. vii. 3, 6.

Josephus mentions Gamalitis, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, Batanea, Auranitis, Paneas and Chalcis.<sup>1</sup> Batanea, Auranitis and Trachonitis are termed by him “the house of Lysanias” from Lysanias “King of the Itureans,”<sup>2</sup> and later “the house of Zenodorus” from a robber chieftain who appropriated the district and lived as a bandit.<sup>3</sup> To secure the pacification of the territory Augustus handed it over to Herod<sup>4</sup> from whom it passed to Philip as his Tetrarchy.<sup>5</sup>

i. Trachonitis is associated with Libanus as a district whence Aristobulus drew his mercenaries.<sup>6</sup> It lay to the north-east of Batanea or Basan and corresponded to the modern Lejâh; its name well describes it, “the rough” or stony places.

ii. Batanea is a Greek form of the Hebrew Basan and stretched from the Waters of Merom to the northern shores of the Sea of Galilee with Trachonitis on the north-east.<sup>7</sup>

iii. Auranitis is the modern Hauran, *cf.* Ezech. xlvii. 16, 18, and corresponds to the plain lying to the east of Gaulonitis which flanks the eastern shores of the Sea of Galilee, further east lies the Lejâh or Trachonitis, and north of it lies Basan.

iv. Gaulonitis, or the district about Golan, lay to the immediate east of the Sea of Galilee.<sup>8</sup>

v. Iturea lay further north than the above-mentioned districts, its history is the most obscure of all. Ismael had a son Jethur<sup>9</sup> and it seems that “the nation of the Itureans”<sup>10</sup> was once a really powerful though nomadic people somewhat like the Hittites. At any rate they were famous warriors and are often mentioned by classical writers. It seems clear that their main centre lay on the

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* XIV. vii. 4, XV. x. 1, XVI. ix. 2, XVII. ii. 1-2; *B.J.* III. i. 1, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cassius, XLIX. 32.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* XV. x. 1; *B.J.* I. xx. 4; *cf.* *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4; *B.J.* II. vi. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XV. x. 1; *B.J.* I. xx. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XVII. viii. 1, xi. 4; XVIII. iv. 6; *B.J.* II. vi. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xvi. 5.

<sup>7</sup> *B.J.* III. iii. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Deut. iv. 43; Jos. xx. 8, xxi. 27. See Schuracher *The Jaulân*, published by the Palestine Exploration Society, 1888, and especially the map at the beginning. Also *P.E.F.* 1872, 182; 1884, 167; 1885. 82-87.

<sup>9</sup> Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Paral. i. 31, v. 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Ant.* XIII. xi. 3.

eastern slopes of Anti-Lebanon or Mount Hermon and that they spread eastwards towards Trachonitis.<sup>1</sup>

vi. **Abilene** is the name given to the district about Abila which lay in the Lebanon between Chalcis and Damascus and which formed part of the kingdom of Chalcis. St. Luke, iii. 1, refers to Abilene as forming the Tetrarchy of Lysanias. His statement is abundantly confirmed by Josephus who mentions a Lysanias son of Ptolemy who was slain by Antony at the bidding of Cleopatra<sup>2</sup> and who therefore lived about 40 B.C. But Josephus repeatedly refers to another Lysanias whose Tetrarchy was given to Agrippa by Caligula<sup>3</sup> and confirmed to him by Claudius;<sup>4</sup> he also speaks of this Tetrarchy as "the kingdom of Lysanias."<sup>5</sup> That this was not the Lysanias slain by Antony is clear from the fact that this latter Lysanias reigned over the Itureans,<sup>6</sup> and was "ruler of Chalcis";<sup>7</sup> his "kingdom" of forty years before Christ could not be described in A.D. 40 as a "Tetrarchy" which had apparently just fallen vacant. The truth is that the ancient kingdom of Chalcis—practically identical, apparently, with that of the Itureans—had been divided up into small portions of which the Tetrarchy of Abila formed part.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the arguments see Schurer *H.J.P.* I. ii., App. i. pp. 326-33, conveniently summarised in Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, third ed. 1895, p. 545 note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XV. iv. 1; *B.J.* I. xiii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX. v. 1, XX. vii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *B.J.* II. xi. 5, xii. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Dio Cassius, xlix. 32.

<sup>7</sup> *Ant.* XIV. vii. 4; *B.J.* I. ix. 2.

<sup>8</sup> For a discussion of all these questions see Schurer, *H.J.P.* I. ii., App I. pp. 325-344; G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, third ed. pp. 534-535, 611-638; for an inscription referring to Lysanias II. see *Appendix* to this volume.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST

#### I.

Hebrew.

Aramaic.

Greek.

Latin.

#### II.

Table of Aramaic or Hebrew words occurring  
in the New Testament.

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#### I.

It is too commonly supposed that Neh. viii. 8 indicates that on the return from the Captivity the *Hebrew* language was lost to the common people. But when it is said that *they read in the Book of the Law of God distinctly and plainly to be understood, and they understood when it was read*, it seems clear that the Law was read to the people in Hebrew and that they understood the Hebrew language without the need of an interpreter. And when it is added that *Nehemias and Esdras interpreted to all the people*, this can only mean that they made a running commentary, not that they translated it into Aramaic as is so often supposed. Thus it is expressly stated in Neh. xiii. 24 that the offspring of some of the mixed marriages *spoke half in the speech of Azotas, and could not speak the Jews' language*, thus implying



that want of familiarity with the Jewish language was an uncommon thing.

At the same time the ancient Hebrew was speedily modernised; this is clear from the earliest forms of the Mishna which date from the second century B.C. The same appears from the Maccabean coins the inscriptions on which are in Hebrew, not in Aramaic.

Side by side with this modernised Hebrew existed the *Aramaic dialect* of the west which was different from that in use in the east at Babylon. This must have been the ordinary language of the people as distinct from the more literary modernised Hebrew language. This, too, was presumably the "language of the people" which in N.T. is referred to as "Hebrew," John v. 2, Acts xxi. 40, xxii. 2, xxvi. 14; cf. 2 Macc. vii. 21, 27, xii. 37. That this language was Aramaic and not Hebrew properly so-called is proved by the number of Aramaic words quoted in N.T., see the list below. The same is proved by Josephus' statement that he originally wrote his *Wars of the Jews* in "the language of our own country and sent it to the upper Barbarians," by whom he presumably means the Jews resident in Parthia, Babylonia and Arabia;<sup>1</sup> these Jews would speak Aramaic rather than Hebrew, though Josephus himself repeatedly refers to this language as "Hebrew."<sup>2</sup> The Galileans used a dialect of their own, though it seems probable that it was rather a patois than a dialect; this patois was apparently more remarkable for the way in which certain letters were pronounced or run together than for any strictly dialectical peculiarities.<sup>3</sup>

The use of *Greek* in Palestine must have been very general. The Paschal visitors, the near neighbourhood of Grecian Egypt, the presence of Greek-speaking Roman officials, the mania on the part of the Herods for all things Hellenistic, all combine to render it probable that there were few who could not speak Greek. Greek names are frequent, e.g. Andrew, Peter, Stephen, etc. The title of the Cross was in *Greek, Latin, and Hebrew*.<sup>4</sup> Josephus also

<sup>1</sup> *Wars*, Prologue, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10; cf. *Wars*, V. ix. 2, VI. ii. 1, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xxvi. 69; Mark xiv. 70; Luke xxii. 59; Acts ii. 7. For further information see Neubauer, *On the Dialects spoken in Palestine in the Time of Christ*, *Studia Biblica*, vol. i.

<sup>4</sup> Luke xxiii. 38; John xix. 20.

tells us that the notices in the Temple forbidding Gentiles to enter the Inner Court were in Greek, Roman and Hebrew characters.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the centurion seems to express surprise that St. Paul can speak Greek,<sup>2</sup> though his surprise may simply be due to the fact that he had made up his mind that Paul was “that Egyptian.” There is no proof of the use of *Latin* in the New Testament, but the title of the Cross, the use of Latin in the Temple notices just referred to, and the presence of so many Roman officials, make it antecedently probable that many knew at least a smattering of Latin. Josephus tells us that Julius Cæsar’s inscriptions at Tyre, Sidon, and Ascalon, as also those of Mark Antony at Tyre, were in Greek and Latin.<sup>3</sup>

## II.

### Semitic (Hebrew or Aramaic) Words in N.T.

1. Abba, “father,” Mark xiv. 36 ; Rom. viii. 15 ; Gal. iv. 6.
2. Abaddon, “destroyer,” Apoc. ix. 11 ; *cf.* Job xxvi. 6, xxxi. 12.
3. Armageddon, Apoc. xvi. 16 (Har Magedon in R.V.) ; St. Jerome renders it *mons globosus*, in *Onomast.* LXXX. xi.
4. Barabbas, Matt. xxvii. 16, etc., “son of the teacher.”
5. Barjesu, Acts xiii. 6, “son of Josue.”
6. Bar Jona, Matt. xvi. 17 ; *cf.* John i. 42, xxi. 15, 16, 17, “son of John” or “son of the dove.”
7. Barnabas, Acts iv. 36, “son of consolation.”
8. Barsabas, Acts i. 23, “son of Saba” which name may mean “oath.”
9. Bartholomew, Matt. x. 3, “son of Tolmai.”
10. Bartimæus, Mark x. 46, “son of Timæus.”
11. Beelzebub (or Beelzebul), Matt. xii. 24, “Lord of flies,” *cf.* 4 Kings i. 2-3.
12. Bethesda (Bethsaida, Vg.), John v. 2, perhaps “house of the stream.”
13. Boanerges, Mark iii. 17, “sons of thunder.”
14. Cephas, John i. 42, “rock.”
15. Corban, Mark vii. 11, “gift” ; *cf.* Matt. xv. 5.
16. Eli, Eli (Eloi, Eloi, Mark xv. 34), lamma sabacthani ? Matt. xxvii. 46, “My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me ?” Ps. xxi. 1.
17. Ephpheta (Ephphatha), Mark vii. 34, “be thou opened !”
18. Gabbatha, John xix. 13, derivation unknown, in Greek *Lithostrotos*.

<sup>1</sup> *Ways*, V. v 2 ; VI. ii. 4.

*Ant.* XIV. x. 2-3, xii. 5,

<sup>2</sup> Acts xxi. 37.

19. Gehenna, Matt. v. 22, "vale of Hinnom"; *cf.* Jos. xv. 18, xviii 16.
20. Golgotha, Matt. xxvii. 33, "skull."
21. Hacedama (Akeldama), Acts i. 19, "the field of blood."
22. Hosanna, Matt. xxi. 9, perhaps a corruption of the Hebrew words in Ps. cxvii. 25 since ver. 26 is immediately quoted by St. Matthew; so St. Jerome, *Ep.* XX. 2; but St. Augustine, *Tract.* LI. 2, in *Joan.* says: "Those who know Hebrew say that Hosanna is a sound expressive of obsecration rather significative of our affections than meaning any particular thing;" *cf.* *De Doct. Christ.* II. xi.
23. Mammon, Matt. vi. 24; Luke xvi. 9, 11, 13, "riches."
24. Maran-atha, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "The Lord hath come," or "Our Lord hath come."
25. Messias, John iv. 25, "the anointed"; in Greek "Christ."
26. Pasch, Matt. xxvi. 2, from the Hebrew word meaning "to pass over."
27. Pharisee, Matt. iii. 7, "separated."
28. Rabbi, Matt. xxiii. 7, "my master," though the pronoun had ceased to be effective.
29. Rabboni, Mark x. 51; John xx. 16, an Aramaic form of the preceding.
30. Raca, Matt. v. 22, "empty" and so "fool."
31. Satan, Matt. iv. 10, the "adversary."
32. Sicera, Luke i. 15, "strong drink"; *cf.* Isa. v. 11.
33. Tabitha, Acts ix. 36, "a gazelle."
34. Talitha cumi, Mark v. 41, "Maiden, (I say to thee) arise."

## CHAPTER V

### OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN GENERAL

- A. The Relation of the New Testament to the Old.
- B. The Preeminence of the New Testament, which in its turn is dependent on the Church.

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A. THE New Testament is *unintelligible without the Old*. For, as Tertullian expresses it, "the Law is the root of the Gospels."<sup>1</sup> But, as our Lord Himself said, "not one jot nor one tittle of the Law shall pass."<sup>2</sup> "Ye call men Manicheans," says St. Jerome,

"if they prefer the Gospel to the Law. But rather let us say that in the Law is the shadow, in the Gospel is the Truth . . . in the former we are slaves, in the latter the Lord Who is present speaks; in the former are the promises, in the latter their fulfilment; in the former are the beginnings, in the latter their completion; in the former the foundations of the works are laid, in the latter the coping stone of faith and grace is fitted on."<sup>3</sup>

And again :

"For the grace of the Law which hath passed away we have received the abiding grace of the Gospel; for the shadows and the figures of the Old Instrument we have the Truth of Jesus Christ."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Tertullian, *Scorpiace*, 2, and cf. St. Jerome in *Ezech.* xlii. 1; *P.L.* XXV. 409, "Ut et Lex teneatur in Evangelio et Evangelium de Legis radice nascatur"; cf. Lactantius, *Instit.* V. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17; cf. Origen, *Præf.* 9 in *Joan.*; *P.G.* XIV. 35; St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* iv.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Pelag.* I. 31; *P.L.* XXIII. 525.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* CXII. 14; *P.L.* XXII. 925; cf. in *Matthæum*, xi. 28-29; *P.L.* XXVI. 76; Origen, *Præf. in Joan.* 14; *P.G.* XIV. 47; *Lib.* I. 4, in *Rom.* i. 4, *ibid.* 847-8.

In his commentary on Matt. v. 18, "*One jot or one tittle of the Law shall not pass till all be fulfilled*," he points out that the New Dispensation is but the fulfilment and not the displacement of the Old :

"Under the figure of these letters we are shown that even those things which are held to be the least in the Law are filled with spiritual mysteries ; and all of them are summed up in the Gospel." <sup>1</sup>

This same doctrine St. Augustine is never weary of reiterating, especially against the Manichæans; he sums it up in characteristic fashion in the dictum : "*Quæ in Veteri Testamento latent in Novo patent*." <sup>2</sup>

It is only when we have a thorough grasp of principles like these that we can profitably study the New Testament. One and the same God is the Author of both Testaments ; one and the same Spirit inspired the various writers however widely separated in point of time ; one Divine Person dominates every Book, *viz.* the Saviour of the world Who in the Old Testament appears under the veils of prophecy, but in the New is depicted as walking in the flesh. <sup>3</sup>

What has been said will suffice to show the authoritative position which the Gospels hold. Thus St. Augustine says to Faustus :

"Show me how you know that Christ is the Author of truth if you dare ascribe falsehood to those who wrote of Him and whose authority has come down to posterity established and rooted in a memory that is but recent ? For you have not seen Christ, neither did He speak with you as He did with the Apostles ; neither did He call to you from heaven as He did to Saul. What ideas can you have of Him, what can you believe about Him, save what Scripture testifies ? And if the Gospels which are spread abroad and familiar to all peoples are a lying document—despite the supreme degree of sanctity which from the beginning of the preaching of Christ's Name, has been conceded to them in all the Churches—then what Scriptures can be produced to which we can pin our faith in Christ ? What writing can you allege

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. on Matth.* v. 18 ; *P.L.* XXVI. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Quæst. in Heptateuchum*, II. lxxiii. ; *P.L.* XXXIV. 623 ; *cf. Contra Adversarium Legis*, I. xvii. (35), II. 31 ; *P.L.* XLII. 623, 656 ; *Contra Adimantum*, viii-ix., *P.L.* XLII. 139-140 ; *Sermon*, XXV. 1, *P.L.* XXXVIII. 167 ; *Enar. in Ps. cxliii.* 2, *P.L.* XXXVII. 1856 ; *Contra Faustum*, IV. 2, *P.L.* XLII. 219.

<sup>3</sup> *Bar.* iii. 36-38.

which those who do not want to believe will be unable to declare a fiction—when once you call in question the Gospel which is so well known?”<sup>1</sup>

## B. The Church and the Bible.

Hence we are not at liberty to pick and choose among the Gospel records. We must accept all or none. But this we cannot do if we take for our guiding principle simply what appeals to us. We cannot exercise merely subjective critical acumen, or what passes for such. We must not accept what we understand and reject what is beyond our comprehension. We must have some clear objective principle which shall infallibly distinguish between what is inspired and what is not, which shall serve to show us which are true Gospels, which are apocryphal. And this principle, as St. Augustine has just told us, is the universal acceptance of certain Scriptures by the Church. Hence Augustine’s famous pronouncement :

“You tell me Manichæus is an Apostle of Christ! I do not believe it! Perhaps you will read the Gospel to me and try to prove thence who Manichæus is? But supposing you came across someone who was not yet a believer in the Gospel, what would you say to him if he said: ‘I do not believe’? *For neither would I believe the Gospel unless the authority of the Catholic Church impelled me thereto!* And when I believe those who say to me: ‘Believe the Gospel,’ why should I not believe them when they say to me: ‘Do not believe the Manichæans’? Take your choice. If you say: ‘Believe the Catholics,’ then they tell me to put no faith in you! Consequently as long as I believe them I cannot believe you. If you say: ‘Do not believe the Catholics,’ then you cannot, from the Gospel, compel me to believe in the Manichæans, for I only believe in the Gospel because the Catholics preached it to me.”<sup>2</sup>

It is the Catholic Church which preached the Gospel. It is she who acknowledged as her own and set her seal upon the four Gospels which are acknowledged as canonical. They are dependent upon her, not she upon them. For the written records, whether *Gospels*, *Acts*, *Epistles* or *Apocalypse*, are but accidents in the life and development of the Church. The Apostles were sent to preach, not to

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XVI. 11, cf. 13 and XVII. 4; P.L. XLII. 321, 3, 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Ep. Manichæi*, V. P.L. XLII. 176; cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, V. 22.



write; to teach by word of mouth, not by "paper and ink."<sup>1</sup> Hence St. Irenæus' declaration:

"If dispute arose touching some small point would it not be necessary to have recourse to the most ancient Churches in which the Apostles dwelt, and inquire from them what was certain and clear on the point? Supposing that the Apostles themselves had left us no Scriptures, would we not have to follow the order of tradition handed down by those to whom the Apostles committed the Churches? With this principle agrees the state of many barbarian peoples who believe in Christ, but who have salvation written in their hearts by the Holy Spirit without the help of paper and ink, and who diligently hold to the ancient tradition."<sup>2</sup>

The whole New Testament is "occasional," i.e. it was written simply as occasion demanded. *Gospels* were committed to paper because some heresy arose which made it a duty to write—as in the case of St. John's Gospel—*Epistles* were written because the chance of finding a bearer offered itself. But the writers were preachers before they were writers and we can even feel that they grudged the time spent in writing. Tertullian pithily expresses this feature of the New Testament when he terms it "compendiously short."<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, too, remarks that "the Apostles published the knowledge of the kingdom throughout the whole world, paying little attention to the composition of written works," and he instances especially St. Paul who, despite "his vigour of expression and richness of thought, committed to writing no more than the briefest Epistles."<sup>4</sup> Eusebius has also preserved for us a remark of Origen to the effect that "St. Paul did not write to all the Churches which he had instructed, and to those to which he did write he sent but few lines."<sup>5</sup> And Origen expressly points out the incompleteness of the Gospel narrative when he says:

"Who is so clever as to be able to discover the whole Jesus from the four Evangelists? Who can fathom any one point completely by his own unaided study? Who can find out all Christ's journeyings, all His discourses or deeds?"<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 John 12; 3 John 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Hæc.* III. iv. 1-2; *P.G.* VII. 855.

<sup>3</sup> *Contra Marcionem*, IV. 1; cf. St. Jerome in *Isaiam*, x. 23, *P.L.* XXIV. 140, and in *Isaiam*, xxx. 21, *ibid.* 346.

<sup>4</sup> *H.E.* III. xxiv. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *H.E.* VI. xxv. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup> Origen, X. 6, in *Joan.*; *P.G.* XIV. 319.

This is, of course, in accordance with the positive statement of St. John xx. 30, xxi. 25. This dependence of the Gospels and of the whole of Scripture upon the Church's authority could not be more forcibly expressed than in St. Augustine's concluding words to Faustus :

“In brief I would admonish you that if you wish to follow that authority of Scripture which is to be preferred to all others, then you must follow that which from the very days of Christ's presence in our midst has come down to us through the ministry of the Apostles, and which, through the certain succession of Bishops in their Sees, has been safeguarded unto our days as a trust, and has been set in clear light throughout the world. For there you will find even the obscurities of the Old Testament unveiled and its predictions fulfilled.”<sup>1</sup>

St. Augustine constantly recurs to this question when arguing against Faustus the Manichee :

“It is one thing not to receive these Books at all and refuse to be bound by them in any sense, as do the heathen with all our Books, as the Jews do with the New Testament, as we ourselves do with your books and those of other heretics if they claim any books as peculiar to themselves, and as we do too with the books called apocryphal—not of course that these latter have any hidden authority, but we reject them because they rest on no particular light that bears witness to them but are adduced on some unknown secret principle and on the pure presumption of some unknown persons. It is one thing, I say, to refuse to be tied down to the authority of any set of Books or of any set of people, but it is quite another thing to say: ‘this Saint has written all this quite truly and this particular Epistle is his, but in it this particular point is his this other is not his.’ For when you find some opponent of yours saying ‘prove it!’ you do not appeal to more correct copies or to the weight of a greater number of manuscripts or to that of the more ancient ones or to the original language from which the Epistle in question was translated, but you simply say ‘I prove that this is his and the other not his because the first named makes for my views whereas the latter runs counter to them.’ You then are the Rule of Truth! What makes against you cannot be true! . . . But what origin do you assign to any Book you allege in your favour? What antiquity, what series of witnesses do you claim for it? Even if you made the attempt it would not avail you. Whereas you can see for yourself what weight the authority of the Catholic Church has on this point. For she is established upon the series of Bishops who succeeded one another down to the present day in the unquestioned (fundatissimis) Apostolic Sees, as also upon the consentient opinion of so many nations. Consequently, if question should arise touching the reliability of copies, as happens in a few instances of variant readings which are quite well known to students of Holy Scripture, then discussion amongst us would be decided by copies from other districts

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XXXIII. 9; *P.L.* XLII. 517-518.

whence the doctrine in question came to us ; or, if even there copies varied, then the testimony of the majority of manuscripts would be preferred to that of the minority, or of the more ancient to that of the more recent ; and if even then the variants remained uncertain we should consult the original language from which the translation was made. In this fashion they act who when anything disturbs them in Holy Scripture, which rests on such weighty authority, are anxious to find what may make for their instruction, not what may help them in their squabbles." <sup>1</sup>

The Fathers urged, in season and out of season, this principle of the complete dependence of Holy Scripture on the Church and Tradition. Thus note St. Irenæus' words on the way in which heretics treat both Scripture and Tradition :

"When they are convinced out of the Scriptures," he says, "they turn round and accuse those very Scriptures, saying that they are not correct, that they are not authoritative, that they are not consistent and that the truth cannot be gathered from them by people who are ignorant of Tradition. And Tradition, they urge, was not delivered in writing but by the living voice. . . . But then again, when we appeal against them to that same Tradition which flows from the Apostles and is safeguarded in the Churches by the succession of Presbyters, they become opponents of Tradition and urge that they themselves are wiser not only than the Presbyters, but even than the Apostles themselves, and they say that it is they themselves who have discovered the real truth." <sup>2</sup>

Note, too, a remarkable passage in the *De Fide contra Manichæos*, a work attributed to St. Augustine ; the writer is talking of the birth of Christ from a Virgin :

"You will be told," he says, "that it is in the Gospel. But with your usual stupidity you will at once declare that Scripture to be false ! You fail to realise that any other blind person who is like-minded with yourself can do precisely what you are doing and dub false what you deem true and true what you deem false ! Thus you open the door to every human error and crime, so that every individual is at liberty to accept those Scriptures which he is pleased with and repudiate those which he does not understand and which, because he stumbles at them, he holds to be bad. Owing to this mistaken procedure of yours there remain no means of correcting people like you ! Receive then the Canonical Scriptures in their entirety if you would be yourselves entire !" <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XI. 2 ; *P.L.* XLII. 245-246.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. ii. 1-2 ; *P.G.* VII. 846-7 ; cf. St. Cyprian, *Ep.* LXVII. 5 ; Lactantius, *Instit.* IV. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Pseudo-Augustine, *De Fide contra Manichæos*, xxii. ; *P.L.* XLII. 1145.

Neither is it simply question of which Scriptures are canonical. For even when we know what Scriptures we are to accept and what to reject, we still need a guide in our interpretation of them. No one has written more forcibly on this point than St. Irenæus:

“True knowledge,” he says, “is the teaching of the Apostles, and the ancient system of the Church throughout the world, and the impress of the Body of Christ according to the succession of the Bishops to whom the Apostles handed down the Church which is in every place. This is that guardianship which has come down to us; this is full treatment of Scripture without disguise, without addition, without diminution. There we have the text without falsification,<sup>1</sup> its exposition ‘according to the Scriptures,’ legitimate, diligent, affording no room for danger nor blasphemy.”<sup>2</sup>

In the same spirit Tertullian writes that

“the Holy Ghost in His greatness foresaw all such interpretations as these (*i.e.* the false interpretations put on 1 Thessalonians of which he is speaking), and therefore suggested to the Apostle the passages in 2 Thessalonians.”<sup>3</sup>

For, as Tertullian himself remarks elsewhere:

“Divine reason lies in the very pith and marrow of things, not on the surface, and very often is at variance with appearances.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the fact that the text was early corrupted see *H.E.* IV. xviii. xxiii. xxix.; V. xx.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Hæc.* IV. xxxiii. 8; *P.G.* VII. 1077; *cf.* IV. xxvi. 1-5, cols. 1053-6. For an ideal *Introduction* to the study of Holy Scripture see Cassiodorus, *De Institutione Divinarum Literarum*, i.-xvi.; *P.L.* LXX. 1105-1131.

<sup>3</sup> *De Resurrectione Carnis*, xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. Origen goes further still: “We must know that just as the Law contains but a shadow of future good things, which are announced by that Law when set forth in truth, so too the Gospel, which even some of the common herd fancy they understand, teaches us but a shadow of the mysteries of Christ. Indeed what John terms the ‘Eternal Gospel’ (Apoc. xiv. 6), and which might properly be termed the ‘spiritual Gospel,’ clearly sets before the eyes of them that understand, all the things of the Son of God, both the mysteries shown forth in His discourses and those things of which His very actions were but veiled images.” *Tom. I. 9 in Joan. P.G.* XIV. 35-38. Hence Origen also says: “We must show all diligence in studying even those things which seem to be clear. Nor must we despair of finding in His discourses, however homely and simple they may seem, something worthy of His sacred lips for them that seek aright.” *Tom. XX. 29, in Joan. P.G.* XIV. 658; *cf. Tom. II. 2, ibid.* 186. On the whole question see Mgr. Le Camus, *Fausse Exégèse: Mauvaise Théologie, Lettre aux Directeurs de mon Séminaire, à propos des idées exposées par M. A. Loisy dans Autour d'un Petit Livre*; Paris, Oudin, 1904.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

- A. Theoretical Principles.
  - B. The Church's Treatment of the Question.
  - C. Table of Ecclesiastical Writers and of Documents illustrating the Formation of the New Testament Canon.
  - D. The Muratorian Fragment containing the Canon of the New Testament.
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#### A. Theoretical Principles.

THE word "canon," κανών, signifies "rule" or "measure"; when, then, we speak of the "canonical Books" we mean those which serve as the "rule" or norm of our faith. By a natural transition the word "canon" came to mean the list or catalogue of such Books as served for the "measure" or "rule" of our faith. For the New Testament this list contains the following Books: the Four Gospels; the Acts of the Apostles; the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul; the seven Catholic Epistles, *viz.* one of St. James, two of St. Peter, three of St. John, one of St. Jude; and lastly the Apocalypse of St. John. In spite of the assertions of some of the so-called Reformers—for Luther maintained that the Epistle of St. James was "an Epistle of straw"—all the separated Churches retain in their Canon the same Books of the New Testament as does the Catholic Church.

It is clear that from the very earliest times the question must have arisen: Which are the Books of the New Testament? We can perhaps discern a trace of such disputes in St. Peter's words about St. Paul's Epistles.<sup>1</sup> But the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Pet. iii. 15-16.

Church must have speedily made up her mind as to the principles which must decide any dispute on the point. The guiding principle was of course that for writings to be canonical, or the norm of faith, they must be divinely inspired. This was St. Paul's principle: “All Scripture inspired of God is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct to justice.”<sup>1</sup> But there still remains the further question: What proof is there that any Book claiming to form part of the Scriptures is really inspired and therefore an integral part of the Canon? Upon the solution of this question the whole of the controversy with Marcion turned. Tertullian routed his opponent by laying down the following incontrovertible points:

“We lay down as our first position that the Evangelical Testament has Apostles for its authors; to them was assigned by the Lord Himself the office of publishing the Gospel. And if there are also Apostolic men (*i.e.* Mark and Luke), we yet maintain that these latter do not stand alone but with the Apostles and after them. For the preaching of disciples might be suspected to be mere seeking for reputation unless they had in their support the authority of the masters, nay of Christ Himself, for He made the Apostles masters. Thus, of the Apostles, John and Matthew instil the faith into us; of the Apostolic men, Luke and Mark renew it.”<sup>2</sup>

Tertullian then proceeds to show how absurd it is for Marcion to endeavour to uphold his edition of Luke's Gospel as opposed to that long current in the Church:

“He tries to undermine the value of those Gospels which are published as genuine (*propria*) and under the name of Apostles or of Apostolic men, and this, forsooth, with a view to winning for his own Gospel the credit which he denies to them.”<sup>3</sup>

Marcion tried to evade the force of this argument by urging that the Church's Gospels were adulterated. But Tertullian retorts:

“If the Apostles gave us the genuine Gospel . . . and if false Apostles have adulterated it, and if our copies are derived from this adulterated one, then which is the genuine instrument of the Apostles which suffered at the hands of these adulterers?”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 16; *cf.* 2 Pet. i. 20-21.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 2; *P.L.* II. 363.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 3; *P.L.* II. 365.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



This was an impasse.

"I call my Gospel the genuine one, Marcion maintains that his is genuine. I say his is adulterated, he says mine is! What is to decide between us save the argument which is drawn from time and which declares that authority lies with that which shall be shown to be the older and which establishes that that is adulterated which shall be convicted of being later?"<sup>1</sup>

Tertullian then draws his conclusion :

"In fine, then, if it is agreed that that is truer which is earlier, and that that is earlier which was from the beginning, and that that was from the beginning which was from the Apostles—then it will also hold good that that was handed down by the Apostles which the Churches of the Apostles have kept as a sacred deposit. . . . I maintain, then, that in these Churches, and not only in the Apostolic Churches but in all the Churches which are united to them by the bond of the Sacrament, that Gospel of Luke has from its very earliest publication stood its ground which we are defending with all our might. . . . And the same authority of the Apostolic Churches will stand guarantee for the other Gospels too which we hold through them and according to their usage. I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew. Moreover the Gospel which Mark published may be termed Peter's, for Mark was his interpreter; just as people are wont to assign Luke's digest to Paul. And indeed what the disciple publishes should rightly be assigned to his master. Consequently Marcion must be called to account regarding these other Gospels. Why did he omit them and especially insist on that of Luke? As though these latter were not from the beginning in full use in the Churches just as was Luke's? Indeed it is quite credible that these other Gospels were even more in evidence, being first because Apostolic, and being coeval in origin with the Churches themselves (*cum ipsis Ecclesiis dedicata*). . . . These are the compendious arguments we make use of when we dispute with heretics touching our faith in the Gospel. For these arguments uphold the order of time which brands with the note of adulteration what is proved to be late; they uphold, too, the authority of the Churches which establishes the Apostolic tradition; for truth must needs precede falsehood and proceeds direct from those by whom it is delivered."<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting to note how Tertullian thus insists on the final authority of the Church in supporting the Apostolic tradition touching the contents of the Canon.

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Marconem*, IV. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* IV. 6.

## B. The Church's Treatment of the Question.

In the formation of the Canon a double process can be traced: the process of accumulation of Apostolic writings, since individual Churches received, for example, St. Paul's various Letters and only gradually made them known to the rest of the world; and the process of elimination of what was not inspired and was therefore not canonical. We have only to examine the formidable list of Apocryphal writings claiming Apostles for their authors to see how vast was the mass of material, and to reflect on the other hand on the seemingly trivial character of such an Epistle as that of St. Paul to Philemon to see how minute was the care taken by the Church in preserving the veriest fragments of Apostolic writings. To declare that the *Epistle to Philemon* was inspired and therefore canonical, and that at the same time so important and popular a work as the *Shepherd of Hermas* was without these necessary qualifications, demanded an absolutely certain criterion on the part of the Church. She must have based her decision on no merely critical grounds, but on her own subjective certainty as to her Divinely-bestowed knowledge on the point.

But in another sense the Church's judgment was a critical one. Her pronouncements were not authoritative declarations which disregarded evidence. But the evidence she weighed was the authoritative voice of her representatives scattered throughout the world. In other words she took the votes of those who in the various Apostolic Sees were in a position to declare what was the tradition they had received. Thus, while our knowledge of the contents of the Canon is derived from the Church's authoritative pronouncements, *i.e.* from the official lists of the Canonical Books drawn up by the Pontiffs or by the Councils, it is also true that these latter, *viz.* the various Pontiffs or Councils, derived their knowledge from the declarations of various Fathers who collectively represented the volume of Apostolic tradition. ☉ And it was only by slow degrees that the Church entered into her inheritance in the full Canon of Holy Scripture. For in the first place it is clear that so long as any Apostle survived the deposit of written revelation it

could not be said to be definitely completed. Hence it was not till the first century had closed and St. John was dead that the Church could arrive at a knowledge of the fulness of her deposit. And to this knowledge the Churches of Asia, of Europe, and of Egypt had each to contribute their quota. When a Catholic, then, desires to know what are the contents of the Canon he consults the Church's official Decrees, *e.g.* those of the Councils of Florence, Trent, and the Vatican. When, however, he desires to learn on what the Church based these Decrees he consults the writings of the various Fathers of the Church who, either by the use they made of various Books, or by the lists which they drew up, *e.g.* in the case of St. Athanasius and St. Augustine, showed what was the tradition they received and handed down. How much discussion existed in the early Church on the contents of the Canon may be gathered from Eusebius, who says:

"It seems opportune here to present a summary list of the New Testament writings of which we have already spoken. In the first place then we must set the holy four-horsed chariot of the *Gospels*; then will come the Book of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and after it we place the *Epistles of Paul*. After them the one which is known as the *First of John* and also the authenticated *Epistle of Peter*. After these must be placed, if it seem fit, the *Apocalypse of John* concerning which we will set down in their place the opinions which have been held. Now these are among the accepted writings, ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις.

"But among the writings which are *disputed*, ἀντιλεγομένων, yet which are familiar to many, we have the *Epistle* which is said to be that of *James*, and that of *Jude*, as well as the *Second Epistle of Peter* and those that are termed the *Second* and *Third of John*, whether they were really written by the Evangelist or by someone who bore the same name with him.

"Amongst the *spurious* writings, νόθοις, must be reckoned the *Acts of Paul*, the Book called *The Shepherd*, and the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In addition to which must be reckoned the current *Epistle of Barnabas* and the so-called *Teachings of the Apostles* (the Διδαχαί). Add to these, as I said, the *Apocalypse of John* if it seem fit, for some, as I have said, set it aside, while others class it with the accepted writings. Indeed amongst these latter some even group the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, a work which is especially acceptable to those of the Hebrews who have believed in Christ. All these, then, would rank among the *disputed* writings. And we have thought it necessary to draw up a list of these, thus distinguishing on the one hand the true and sincere Scriptures, *viz.* those accepted according to Ecclesiastical tradition, and on the other hand those other writings which are not incorporated

into the body of the Testament<sup>1</sup> and which are *disputed*, though at the same time they are known to many Ecclesiastical people. And we have done this that we may have a ready means of ascertaining which these writings are, as well as those circulated under the name of Apostles by heretics, *e.g.* *Gospels* of Peter, Thomas and Matthias and others, as also *Acts* of Andrew, John and of other Apostles. Of writings such as these no man who has followed (the traditional teaching) according to the successive series of Ecclesiastical men has thought it worth while to make any mention in his writings. Indeed the whole character of these writings is alien to the style of the Apostles. And the ideas, too, as well as the entire scope of what is set forth in them, are as far as possible removed from true orthodoxy, thus clearly showing that they are the figments of heretics. Consequently these writings cannot be reckoned amongst the *spurious* Books, but are to be set on one side as wholly absurd and impious."<sup>2</sup>

Thus Eusebius groups the various writings as (a) "Homologoumenoi" or *accepted*; (b) "Antilegomenoi" or *disputed*; (c) "Nothoi" or *spurious*. His meaning is clear, but his terms are confused. For he has placed the *Apocalypse* of John among the *accepted* Books and also among the *spurious* Books, whereas in reality he only calls in question its authenticity, and does not mean that it is to be regarded as *spurious*. The truth is that here Eusebius has really drawn up four classes of writings: the *accepted*, the *disputed*, the *spurious*, and these *altogether rejected*. It is clear, of course, that these two last-named really form one category. And Eusebius increases the confusion by saying that such *spurious* works as the Apocryphal *Gospels* and *Acts* are not to be classed amongst the *spurious* writings, but are to be rejected wholly. That this is merely a slip on his part is shown conclusively by the fact that a little lower down he has a perfectly consistent division; for there he speaks of:

"What has come to our knowledge concerning the Apostles and Apostolic times, as also about the Sacred Writings they have left us (*i.e.* *accepted* writings), as well as those writings which are *in dispute*, ἀντιλεγόμενοι, but which at the same time are in full use in many Churches, as also of those that are wholly *spurious*, νόθοι, and alien to Apostolic orthodoxy. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius employs here a word which is most instructive, for ἐνδιαθήκους is an adjective which means "incorporated into the Testament"; the use of such an adjective shows us at once the idea which the Fathers had of the Testament as a whole body of doctrine, and also that Books were regarded as incorporated into it by reason of some peculiar character they possessed.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* III. xxv.; *P.G.* XX. 267-271

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III. xxxi. 282.

The threefold division, *viz.* into genuine, apocryphal and doubtful, is given by St. Gregory Nazianzen as well as by Origen and St. Cyril of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

The important point to note in reading the statements of various Fathers regarding the canonicity, or the opposite, of the New Testament writings are that (a) we never find any Father saying that some writing which the Church now accepts is no part of the Canon. Thus no Ecclesiastical writer rejects the *Apocalypse* or the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. They may, it is true, throw doubts on the authenticity of such Books, but it is one thing to question their authenticity, quite another to question their canonicity. Thus no one ever wrote more critically of the *Apocalypse* than did Denis of Alexandria;<sup>2</sup> but while he has very strong doubts as to St. John's authorship of it, he has no doubts whatever regarding its inspired character.<sup>3</sup> (b) On the other hand we have no instance of an Ecclesiastical writer insisting on the canonicity of some writing which the Church subsequently repudiated. Thus while the *Canon of Muratori* (q.v.) admits the *Pastor* of Hermas there is no attempt to maintain that it really is a part of the Canon. (c) Lastly, it is a fact that individual writers omit many writings from their lists, *e.g.* the Muratorian fragment omits the *Epistle to the Hebrews* while admitting the *Apocalypse of Peter* and expressly rejecting the *Pastor*; again many writers omit the *Apocalypse of John*, *e.g.* St. Cyril of Jerusalem and the Council of Laodicea.<sup>4</sup> Consequently the most that can be said against the canonicity of any particular writing is that certain Fathers hesitated to affirm its canonicity, either because the evidence for its Apostolic origin was not sufficiently clear or because, while some individual Father himself thinks the evidence sufficient, he is aware that there are many who do

<sup>1</sup> Thus Origen says it is idle to discuss whether the *Preaching of Peter* is "genuine," "spurious" or "mixed," γνήσιον ἢ ὑβθον ἢ μικτόν; Tom. XIII. 17 in *Joan. P.G.* XIV. 424-6; St. Gregory Nazianzen, *ad Saleucum*, P.G. XXXVII. 1598, *cf.* XXXVIII. 842; St. Cyril, *Catech.* IV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ap.* Eusebium, H.E. VII. xxv, and *cf.* Vol. III. s.v. *Apocalypse*.

<sup>3</sup> "I agree that it is the work of a holy and inspired man; but I cannot readily admit that he was the Apostle by whom the Gospel of John and the Catholic Epistle were written."—H.E. VII. xxv. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. infra.*



not think so. It must often have been the case, too, that some writing is not mentioned by a particular Father, for the simple reason that he has never heard of it. Thus the early Syrian Church apparently knew nothing of the *Apocalypse*, of *Jude*, of *2 Peter*, and of *2-3 John*. Much the same may perhaps be said of the Old-Latin version which, so it is said, did not contain *Hebrews*, *2 Peter*, and *James*.<sup>1</sup> It cannot be surprising that such brief writings as *Jude* and *2-3 John* should pass unnoticed, though at the same time the fact that *Philemon*<sup>2</sup> is given practically unanimously is proof of the care used by St. Paul's Churches in collecting his Epistles. .

The accompanying table of the authorities for the New Testament Canon will prove useful :

### C. Table of Ecclesiastical Writers and Documents illustrating the Formation of the New Testament Canon.\*

St. Clement of Rome, <i>d.</i> A.D. 98.	<i>I Cor.</i>	ii.=Tit. iii. 1 ; <i>cf.</i> lviii.
<i>I Cor.</i> xliii.=John xvii. 3. <sup>3</sup>		ix.=Heb. xi. 5, 7 ; <i>cf.</i> x. and xvii.
ii.=Acts xx. 35.		ii.=1 Pet. v. 5 ; <i>cf.</i> xxx. and xlix.
x.=(?) Rom. iv. 3.		xi.=Jas. i. 8 ; <i>cf.</i> xxx. and xlix. <sup>4</sup>
xxxiv.=1 Cor. ii. 9.		
ii.=Ephes. v. 21.		
xlvi.=Phil. iv. 15.		

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 2, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> Thus note St. Jerome's remark: "Those who maintain its genuine character urge that it would never have been received by all the Churches throughout the world unless it had been believed to be the work of the Apostle Paul."—*Prol. in Comment. in Ep. ad Philemonem*, P.L. XXVI. 601.

<sup>3</sup> This seems a perfectly clear reference to John xvii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Clement shows an acquaintance with no less than ten of the Books of the New Testament. The only *Gospel* he can be said to quote is that of St. John. But he knows the *Acts*, and five of St. Paul's *Epistles*, while there are at least three apparent references to *Hebrews*, three to 1 *Peter*, and three to *James*.

Clement also quotes certain writings as "Scripture," or with the formula "as it is written," which we cannot identify as forming part of the Bible, *cf.* xvii., xxiii., and xlvi.



**St. Ignatius, d. A.D. 107 or 115.**<sup>1</sup>

*Ephes.* xiv. = Matt. xii. 33.

Prol. = Ephes. i. 4. 19;

iii. 11, 19; iv. 3.

x. = Col. i. 23; *cf.*

xviii.

xviii. = 1 Tim. i. 4.

ii. = Phile. 20.<sup>2</sup>

*Magnes.* ix. = Matt. xxvii. 52.

v. = Acts i. 25.

x. = 1 Cor. v. 7.

*Trall.* viii. = 2 Cor. v. 12, or

1 Tim. v. 14.

*Romans* vii. = John iv. 10; vii.

38; xvi. 11.

v. = 1 Cor. iv. 4; xv.

32.

iii. = 2 Cor. iv. 18.

ii. = Phil. ii. 17, or

2 Tim. iv. 6.

*Smyrn.* i. = Matt. iii. 15.

vi. = Matt. xix. 12.

xi. = Phil. iii. 15.

*Ad Polyc.* v. = Ephes. v. 25.

**St. Polycarp.**

*Philip.* vi. = Matt. vi. 12, 14.

= John iv. 3.

i. = Acts ii. 24.

vi. = Rom. xii. 17.

*Philip.* v. = 1 Cor. vi. 9-10.

iii. = Gal. iv. 26.

i. = Ephes. ii. 8-9.

i. = Phil. i. 5.

xi. = 2 Thess. iii. 15.

v. = 2 Tim. ii. 12

i. = 1 Pet. i. 8.

vi. = 1 John iv. 3.<sup>3</sup>

**The Epistle to Diognetus.**

vi. = John xvii. 11,

14.

iv. = Gal. iv. 10.<sup>4</sup>

**The Epistle of Barnabas.**

v. = Matt. ix. 13.

iv. = Matt. xx. 16

xxii. 14.<sup>5</sup>

xix. = Luke vi. 30, or

Matt. v. 42.

xii. = Col. i. 16 (?).

**The Didache, or Teaching of the**

*Twelve Apostles.*

= *Matthew, Luke;*

perhaps five

*Epistles* of St.

Paul; (?) *He-*

*brews, 1 Peter,*

*James, Apoca-*

*lypse.*<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the case of St. Ignatius, as with St. Clement, it is a question of reminiscence rather than of direct quotation. Still we can demand for Ignatius an acquaintance with Matthew and John, with the *Acts*, and with eight *Epistles* of St. Paul.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion is clearer than it may seem at first sight. In his *Epistle to Philemon* St. Paul plays on the name of Onesimus the slave, and this has apparently been noticed by St. Ignatius, *cf. Magnes.* ii., xii.; *Rom.* v.; *ad Polyc.* i. and vi.

<sup>3</sup> These are direct quotations. The number of reminiscences of the New Testament which occur in this brief Epistle is remarkable; indeed it might be described as a cento of quotations and recollections of New Testament phraseology.

<sup>4</sup> The scope of this Epistle does not permit of much quotation; but in the second portion, where the author treats of Christianity as opposed to Judaism, there are many reminiscences of New Testament phraseology.

<sup>5</sup> This is the famous passage where the words *Many are called, but few are chosen* is introduced by the formula: *As it is written.* The Greek of the passage does not exist, we have only a Latin translation.

<sup>6</sup> This document is replete with reminiscences of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke. But are they quotations? The verbal identities

<i>Writers.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Writings referred to.</i>
Simon Magus.	First century, Palestine and Rome.	<i>Matt., John and 1 Cor.</i> <sup>1</sup>
Cerinthus.	Close of first century, Egypt.	<i>The Four Gospels, Rom., 1-2 Cor., Ephes., Galat., Heb., Col., Philip.</i> <sup>2</sup>
The Ebionites. Basilides and his school.	<i>Idem.</i> Circa A.D. 130, Alexandria.	<i>The Four Gospels, Rom., 1-2 Cor., Ephes., Col., 1 Tim., 1 Pet.</i> They rejected the <i>Pastorals</i> and <i>Heb.</i> <sup>3</sup>
Valentinus and his school.	Circa A.D. 150, Alexandria.	<i>Matt., Luke, John, 1 Cor., Heb., 1 John, Rom., 1 Cor., Ephes., 2 Tim.</i> <sup>4</sup>
Marcion.	Circa A.D. 140, Asia Minor and Rome.	<i>Luke, ten Epistles of St. Paul; he rejected the Acts, Heb., Pas- torals, Apocalypse.</i> <sup>5 6</sup>

are rare; it is hard to say whether a passage is taken from Matthew or Luke; the doctrine is that of the *Sermon on the Mount*. At the same time we have the *Pater Noster* in practically the same form as in Matthew with the interesting appendage of the *Doxology*. In Chap. ix. we have the same order as in Luke xxii. for the Holy Eucharist, “first the Cup . . . then for the broken Bread.” But it must be confessed that none of these passages prove acquaintance with written records as distinct from familiar oral teaching. It is the same with the seeming references to the Epistles, e.g. the use of the formula “Maranatha” in chap. x. 6, will not prove an acquaintance with 1 Cor. xvi. 22, any more than the words “And let not your loins be unloosed,” chap. xvi. 1, will prove the use of Luke xii. 35. The three most patent references to the Epistles are those to the *Epistle of James* in iv. 4, 14; xiv. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Hipp. *Adv. Hær.* VI. 2, 4, 9, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 21, 23; Epiphan. *Hær.* XXVIII. 2-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, VII. 10, 13, 14, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *H.E.* IV. xi. 1; also St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. iv. 3; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* VII. 17; Hipp. *Adv. Hær.* VI. 24, 29, 30.

<sup>5</sup> Hipp. *Adv. Hær.* VII. 19.

<sup>6</sup> The interest of these references to our Canonical Scriptures lies in the fact that such men as Cerinthus with his followers, and Basilides with his school, while making use of what they acknowledged to be Canonical Books, yet pretended to the possession of a tradition which came to them, in the one case through Mariamne from James “the Lord’s brother,” in the other through the Apostle Matthias. This shows how fully the Ecclesiastical writers of those early days realized the necessity of Apostolic tradition if their claims were to be accepted; cf. Hipp. *Adv. Hær.* VII. 8; Clem. *Strom.* VII. 17.

<i>Writers.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Writings referred to.</i>
Papias.	Circa A.D. 60-135.	<i>Matt., Mark, John, Acts (?)</i> , <i>Apocalypse (?)</i> , <i>1 Pet.</i> , <i>1 John</i> . <sup>1</sup>
Tatian.	Died circa A.D. 170.	The <i>Four Gospels</i> , also <i>Ep. to Romans</i> and perhaps <i>Ephesians</i> . <sup>2</sup>
St. Justin.	Flourished circa A.D. 148.	The <i>Four Gospels</i> , three <i>Epp.</i> of St. Paul, the <i>Acts</i> , the <i>Apocalypse</i> . <sup>3</sup>
Hermas.	Circa A.D. 140.	<i>Matt.</i> , <i>John</i> , <i>Mark (?)</i> , <i>Acts</i> , <i>Ephesians</i> , <i>Hebrews</i> , <i>James</i> , <i>Apocalypse</i> . <sup>4</sup>
Old Latin Version.	Second century.	Apparently coincides with the <i>Muratorian fragment</i> as regards the Canon; there appears to be no proof that it contained <i>2 Peter</i> or <i>James</i> ; <i>Hebrews</i> is said to have been added later. <sup>5</sup>
Old Syriac Versions.	Second century.	The <i>Four Gospels</i> , the <i>Acts</i> , the <i>Pauline Epistles</i> . <sup>6</sup>
The Canon of Muratori.	Circa A.D. 180.	Omitted <i>Hebrews</i> , <i>James</i> , <i>1-2 Peter</i> ; and perhaps one of the <i>Epp.</i> of <i>John</i> . <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* III. xxxix. 9-16; *P.G.* XX. 295; cf. St. Irenæus *Adv. Hær.* V. xxx. 1, xxxiii. 4, xxxvi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* IV. xxx. 6; *Cohortatio ad Græcos* iv. and xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Apol.* I. 15, 16, 61; *Dial.* 13, 35, 47, 63, 81, 100-107, 110; *Fragments*, 2, 8, 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Vis.* i. 3, iv. 1, 2; *Mand.* iii., iv. 1, xii. 5; *Sim.* i. viii. 6, ix. 12. These are only the clearer references, less certain ones to *1-2 Peter*, *1 John*, and *Romans* will be found in *Vis.* i. 3, iii. 7, iv. 2, 3, v., *Sim.* iv.

<sup>5</sup> See Westcott, *Canon.* p. 234, 3rd Ed., 1870, and Charteris, *Canonicity*, 1880, p. 2; but see also *Journal of Theological Studies* for O.-L. version of the Catholic Epistles, July, 1911.

<sup>6</sup> See *infra*, s.v. *Syriac Versions*. That the Old Syriac had the *Acts* as well as the *Epistles* of St. Paul, while excluding the Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, is stated in the *Doctrinè of Addai*, see Hastings, *D.B.* IV. 646-7.

<sup>7</sup> The language of the scribe is far from clear: he refers, p. 10, l. 28, to John "in epistulis suis," and then quotes the opening lines of *1 John*; but on p. 11, l. 6, he says 'Johannis duas in Catholica habentur'; it might be a legitimate conclusion that, since he has mentioned the *First Epistle* above, he is here referring to *2-3 John*, but it will still remain an enigma that he should speak of these two, to the seeming exclusion of the *First*, as among the "Catholic Epistles." It

<i>Writers.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Writings referred to.</i>
<b>St. Irenæus.</b> <b>The Martyrs</b> <b>of Vienne.</b>	A.D. 160-202. A.D. 177.	The complete Canon. <sup>1</sup> References to many Canonical Books. <sup>2</sup>

has been plausibly suggested that by the expression "in Catholica" he means in the Catholic Church. The mysterious words which follow: "et sapientia ab amicis salomonis in honore ipsius scripta" have been interpreted as meaning that 2-3 *John* are accepted by the Church, yet not as the work of the Apostle John, but—on a par with (*ut* for *et*)—the Book of *Wisdom* which was written not by Solomon himself but by his friends in his honour.

The omission of all reference to 1 *Peter* is another enigma. It seems best to attribute it to an oversight, for there can hardly have been a doubt as to the canonicity of this Epistle at that date. It should be noted that it is only of the *Apocalypse of Peter* that the remark is made "quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt." It is also of interest to note that the *Pastor* is rejected precisely because recent: "Pastorem vero nuperrime et temporibus nostris in urbe roma herma conscripsit"; it cannot therefore be reckoned with the "prophets who are complete in number, nor with the Apostles at the end of time." The so-called Epistles of St. Paul to the *Laodiceans* and to the *Alexandrians* are explicitly rejected.

<sup>1</sup> Besides repeated references to the *Four Gospels*, *Adv. Hær.* III. i., ix-x., xi. 8-9, *P.G.* VII. 843-889, Irenæus makes great use of *Acts*, *ib.* xiv-xv. He quotes all the *Epistles of St. Paul* except *Philemon*. His references to *Hebrews* are doubtful, *cf.* II. xxx. 9; *P.G.* VII. 822; but Eusebius expressly states *H.E.* V. xxvi., *P.G.* XX. 510, that Irenæus commented on that Epistle. There are possible allusions to *James*, IV. xiii. 1, xvi. 2; V. i. 1; to 1 *Peter* we have references in IV. ix., x. i. 5; perhaps to 2 *Peter* iii. 8 in V. xxviii. 3; *P.G.* VII. 1200; *cf.* V. xxiii. 2, *ib.* 1186, but this may be a reference to Ps. lxxxix. 4. In IV. xxxvi. 4, it is hard to say whether we have a reference to 2 *Peter* ii. 4-7 or to *Jude* 7. 1 *John* is well known to Irenæus, as also 2 *John* which he quotes in III. xvi. 8, as "John in his aforementioned Epistle" citing 2 *John* 7-8; *cf.* I. xvi. 3. For the *Apocalypse* we have a definite statement as to its date, V. xxx. 3; *cf.* IV. xx. 11; V. xxvi. 1; and *H.E.* V. viii.; *P.G.* XX. 450.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebius gives at full length the account furnished by the Churches at Lyons and Vienne of the "Acts" of these glorious Martyrs among whom was the venerable Pothinus the Bishop of Lyons. They do not mention any Book of the New Testament by name, but allusions are frequent; we find probable traces of St. Matthew's *Gospel*, also of those of St. Luke and St. John. There are reminiscences of *Rom.*, *Phil.*, 1 *Tim.*, 1 *Pet.*, 1 *John*, and perhaps of 1 *Cor.* The *Apocalypse*, xxii. 11, is quoted with the formula "that the Scripture might be fulfilled"; *H.E.* V. i.; *P.G.* XX. 434.

<i>Writers.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Writings referred to.</i>
<b>Clement of Alexandria.</b>	<i>Died circa A.D. 220.</i>	The complete Canon. <sup>1</sup>
<b>St. Hippolytus of Portus.</b>	<i>A.D. 170-240.</i>	References to many Canonical Books. <sup>2</sup>
<b>Tertullian.</b>	<i>Died A.D. 230.</i>	No references (?) to 2 <i>Peter</i> or 2-3 <i>John</i> . <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clement quotes all the undisputed Books of the New Testament; Eusebius, *H.E.* VI. xiii. 6, says that Clement in his various works makes use of "testimonies from the disputed Scriptures," e.g. *Wisdom*, *Hebrews*, *Barnabas*, *Clement* and *Jude*. Thus for his use of *Hebrews* cf. *Strom.* VI. 8; for *Jude* *ibid.*, for *James* *ibid.* VI. 18, and III. 6; for 1 *Peter*, *Pæd.* I. 6; for 2 *Peter* we have no quotation in Clement's existing works, but Eusebius makes the definite statement that in his *Hypotyposes* or "Outlines" Clement gave "abridged accounts of all Canonical Scripture, not omitting the disputed Books, i.e. *Jude* and the other *Catholic Epistles*, and *Barnabas* and the so-called *Apocalypse of Peter*," *H.E.* VI. xiv. 1. At the close of *Pæd.* III. xi. Clement quotes under the name of "John," 1 *John* iv. 7, and in *Strom.* II. 15 he quotes 1 *John* v. 16-17 as "John in his larger Epistle," thus bearing clear witness to his knowledge of other Epistles of John's; in *Strom.* VI. 13 he refers to the *Apocalypse* as the work of John.

<sup>2</sup> In the Treatise *De Christo et Antichristo*, 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 26, 29, 56, 64, 67, we have references to the *Gospel of Luke*, to the *Epistles* to the *Romans*, *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, 1 *Tim.*, 2 *Tim.*, *Titus*, 1 *Peter* and the *Apocalypse*. A reference to 2 *Peter* i. 21 in section 2 is clear. In the *Contra Nætum* 6, we have a reference to *Acts*, in 3 to 1 *Corinthians*; in *Theophania* 7, a possible allusion to *Hebrews*; in the *Fragment*, 3, to *Colossians*, in 10, to *Jude* and to 2 *Peter*. These are best seen in the English translation, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IX., Edinburgh.

<sup>3</sup> Tertullian quotes every Book of the New Testament with the exception of 2 *Peter* and 2-3 *John*. Thus, putting on one side his references to the undisputed Books, for which see such passages as *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 2, 5; V. 2, 3, 9, 11, 17, 21; *De Præscript. Hier.* 6, 22, 25, 33, 36; *De Pudicitia*, 13, 20; *De Resurrectione Carnis*, 23, 24, 47, etc.; we find him quoting *Heb.* vi. 4-8, *De Pudicitia*, 20, but apparently attributing it to *Barnabas*; he has implicit quotations of *James* in *De Oratione*, 8; *Adv. Judæos*, 2, and *Scorpiace*, 12; 1 *Peter* he quotes often, see *Scorpiace*, 12 and 14; of 2 *Peter* he apparently knows nothing; 1 *John* he often quotes, cf. *Scorpiace*, 15 and 25; of 2-3 *John* we have no trace; *Jude* he quotes once, *De Cultu Feminarum*, I. 3, where he sees in *Jude* 14 an authorization of the Book of Enoch. Tertullian takes it for granted that the *Apocalypse* is the work of St. John, cf. *De Præscript.* xxxiii.; *Adv. Marc.* III. 14; IV. 5.

Writers.	Date.	Writings referred to.
St. Cyprian.	Died A.D. 258.	No references (?) to <i>James</i> or <i>Jude</i> . <sup>1</sup>
Origen.	A.D. 185-254.	The complete Canon. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> St. Cyprian makes no use of *Hebrews* unless we are to see a possible reference to Heb. xii. 6, in *Ep.* vii. 5; neither does he quote *Philemon*. *2 Peter* is referred to by Firmilian when he says, *Ep.* LXXIV. 6 (*inter Ep̄p. S. Cypriani*) that "Peter and Paul in their Epistles execrated heretics and warned us to avoid them," words which are only true of *2 Peter*; cf. St. Cyprian, *Testim.* III. 11. As for *2 John* we find Aurelius of Chullabi saying at the Seventh provincial Council of Carthage, held under St. Cyprian in A.D. 256, "John the Apostle laid it down in his Epistle . . ." and then follows a quotation of *2 John* 10-11. This expression "in his Epistle" is noteworthy; in *Ep.* xxiv. 2, *1 John* is quoted with precisely the same formula; in *Ep.* LI. 18, *Romans* with the same formula; so too *1 Peter* in *Ep.* LV. 2; and so too *1 Cor.* in *Ep.* LXII. 10. When, then, we find other Fathers using the expression "John in his Epistle" or "Peter in his Epistle" we cannot jump to the conclusion that they thereby tacitly deny the existence of other Epistles by the same writers. Cyprian uses the *Apocalypse* frequently, e.g. *Ep.* v. 2, xiii. 1; *De Bono Patientiæ*.

<sup>2</sup> As for the "disputed Books" Eusebius has preserved for us certain fragments from Origen's writings which show what was his attitude towards these Books. "Peter . . . has left one acknowledged Epistle *ὁμολογουμένην*; perhaps too a second, though this is called in question. . . . John has left us one Gospel . . . he wrote also the *Apocalypse*. . . . He has also left us an *Epistle* of very few lines; perhaps too a *Second* and a *Third*, though all do not acknowledge them to be genuine." Of *Hebrews* he says that while the style is not that of the Apostle yet "if any Church holds that this Epistle is by Paul, let it be commended for this. For not without reason did the men of old deliver it to us as Paul's. Still who wrote the Epistle, in truth God knows!" He then mentions the tradition that Clement wrote it, others that Luke was its author. *H.E.* VI. xxv. 8-14. Quotations from all these Books are to be found in Origen's extant writings. Thus in the *De Principiis*, II. v. 3, he speaks of Peter's "first Epistle," and while he speaks of "Peter in his Epistle" when quoting *1 Peter*, *H.E.* VI. xxv. 5, he does the same when citing the *Second Epistle*, *Lib.* VIII. 7, in *Romans*: *P.G.* XIV. 1179. So also for *2-3 John* see *Hom.* VII. 2 in *Josue* "John sang in his Epistles and in his *Apocalypse*." The *Epistle of James* is quoted at least twice by Origen, once with the caveat "as we read in the Epistle which circulates under the name of James," *XIX.* 6 in *Joan.*, *P.G.* XIV. 570, and once without any qualification "as James, too, the Apostle says," *Lib.* IX. 25 in *Rom.*, *P.G.* XIV. 1226. For *Jude* see *De Principiis*, III. ii. 1, where the *Ascension*



Writers.	Date.	Writings referred to.
Eusebius.	A.D. 270-340, Palestine.	He has the same Canon as we have at present, though he acknowledges the "disputed" character of <i>Hebrews</i> , <i>James</i> , <i>Jude</i> , <i>2 Peter</i> , <i>2-3 John</i> and the <i>Apocalypse</i> . <sup>1</sup>
Codex Vaticanus.	Fourth century.	This MS. is deficient from Heb. ix. 14, but up to that point presents the same Canon as we have. <sup>2</sup>
Codex Sinaiticus.	<i>Ibid.</i>	The complete Canon. <sup>3</sup>
Council of Laodicea.	A.D. 363.	Omits the <i>Apocalypse</i> . <sup>4</sup>
St. Hilary of Poitiers.	Died A.D. 368.	The same Canon as ours. <sup>5</sup>
St. Athanasius.	A.D. 329-373.	The same Canon as ours, but he regards the <i>Doctrine of the Apostles</i> and <i>Pastor</i> as "Ecclesiastical Books." <sup>6</sup>
Pseudo-Athanasius.		The same Canon as ours. <sup>7</sup>
Pope St. Damasus.	A.D. 366-384.	He refers <i>2-3 John</i> to "John the Presbyter." <sup>8</sup>

of *Moses* is referred to as being made use of by the "Apostle Jude in his Epistle"; the context shows that the Epistle is regarded as forming part of Holy Scripture. The *Apocalypse* is often quoted at length and as the work of "John the son of Zebedee," I. 14 in *Joan.*, P.G. XIV. 47; cf. II. 4, *ibid.* 1115.

<sup>1</sup> For Eusebius' Canon see pp. 75-76. For his various statements on the question see *H.E.* II. xxiii. 25; III. iii. 5, 25, etc., and see notes on each of the "disputed" Books.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 96, *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 97, *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> The list of Books given at the close of the 59th Canon is now generally acknowledged to be a later addition; cf. *Mansi, Concilia*, II. 578 sqq., also III. 900 and Binusius' note.

<sup>5</sup> He apparently has no doubts even of the *Apocalypse* which he refers to as the work of St. John, *Explan.* Ps. i., and *de Trin.* vi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ep.* XXXIX.; P.G. XXVI. 1438.

<sup>7</sup> P.G. XXVIII. 281-438, a most valuable *Synopsis* by an unknown author of later date, however, than St. Athanasius.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Charteris, Canonicity*, p. 24.

Writers	Date.	Writings referred to.
St. Cyril of Jerusalem.	A.D. 315-386.	Omits <i>Apocalypse</i> . <sup>1</sup>
Council of Carthage, III.	A.D. 397.	Complete Canon. <sup>2</sup>
St. Chrysostom.	A.D. 347-407.	Complete Canon. <sup>3</sup>
The Apostolic Canons.	Fourth century.	Omit <i>Apocalypse</i> . <sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Catechis.* IV. 36; *P.G.* XXXIII. 500. Cyril gives the Four Gospels, but expressly repudiates the "Manichæan Gospel according to Thomas." He then mentions *Acts*, the *Seven Catholic Epistles*, and the *Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul*. And he concludes: "All the rest put in the second rank." The *Apocalypse* was presumably to be relegated to this "second rank."

<sup>2</sup> This Third Council of Carthage, held in A.D. 397, confirmed the Acts of the Council of Hippo held in 393; St. Augustine was present and the Canon here given accords with that which he himself gives, *De Doct. Christiana*, II. viii. (12-13); *P.L.* XXXIV. 40-41. The Council enumerates the *Four Gospels*, the *Acts*, "Epistolæ Pauli Apostoli tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una," two of *Peter*, three of *John*, one of *Jude*, and the *Apocalypse of John*. *James* is missing, perhaps by an oversight. St. Augustine gives it. The closing words of the Decree are of interest: "Hoc etiam fratri et consacerdoti nostro Bonifacio vel aliis earum partium Episcopis pro confirmando isto canone innotescat, quia a patribus ista accepimus in Ecclesia legenda." This does not seem to have been Pope Boniface, for he only came to the throne in A.D. 418. For the various Councils of Carthage at this period see Mansi, *Concilia*.

<sup>3</sup> He certainly seems to have questioned the Canonicity of 2-3 *John*, 2 *Peter*, *Jude*, and *Apocalypse*; but he had *Hebrews*, on which he preached *Homilies*, and *James*; see Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 23, and especially Montfaucon, *Diatriba in Synopsim S. Scripturæ auctore S. Chrysostomo*, *P.G.* LVI. 305-9.

<sup>4</sup> The so-called *Apostolical Canons* are of course apocryphal and are generally referred to the fourth century. The LXXXIVth Canon opens thus: "All of you, both clergy and laity, must hold as venerable and holy the following Books" . . . there then follows a list of the Books of the Old Testament; the Deutero-canonical Books are not included. The Canon concludes: "Outside these Books understand that your young people must learn the *Wisdom* of the most learned Sirach (*viz. Ecclesiasticus*), as also our wisdom, that is of the New Testament: the *Four Gospels* of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the *fourteen Epistles* of St. Paul; two of *Peter*; three of *John*; one of *James*; one of *Jude*. The *two Epistles of Clement* and the ordinances, published in

Writers.	Date.	Writings referred to.
<b>The Apostolic Constitutions.</b>	Fourth century.	A very incomplete Canon. <sup>1</sup>
<b>P. Innocent I.</b>	A.D. 401.	Complete Canon. <sup>2</sup>
<b>Ruffinus.</b>	A.D. 345-410.	Complete Canon. <sup>3</sup>
<b>St. Jerome.</b>	A.D. 346-420.	Complete Canon. <sup>4</sup>
<b>Theodore of Mopsuestia.</b>	Died A.D. 429.	No <i>Catholic Epistles</i> nor <i>Apocalypse</i> . <sup>5</sup>

eight Books by myself Clement for you Bishops, are not to be in the hands of all by reason of the mystical nature of their contents; and the *Acts* of us the Apostles." Mansi, *Concilia*, I. 47. For the Greek text see Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 26.

<sup>1</sup> Another Apocryphal work dating probably from the Fourth century. It enumerates the *Gospels* and the *Acts*, as well as the *Epistles of Paul*. The order of the *Gospels* is given as Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark. See Mansi, *Concilia*, I. 256; for the Greek text see Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. 25; for the English translation see *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. XVII., p. 84. *Constit.* II. 57. These *Constitutions* were rejected by the Trullan Synod, cf. *J.T.S.*, October, 1914, p. 54. The Quinisext, or Trullan Synod, was held in A.D. 692; it owes its name of "Quinisext" to the equivocal place it holds between the Fifth and the Sixth General Councils. This Synod drew up Canons in supposed accordance with the Third Council of Constantinople, A.D. 681-2, for this Council had framed no Canons. No Roman Legate was present though a space was left at the top of the signatures for that of the Pope, *τόπος τοῦ ἀγιασάτου πάπα ρώμης*. These Canons were never confirmed by Rome; nor is it right to speak of them as an appendix to the Council of Constantinople. Several of the "Canons" are in contradiction with declarations of Rome, e.g. Can. II. confirms the "eighty-five Apostolic Canons" though not all these are—even in substance—accepted by the Church, indeed these said Apostolic Canons are condemned by the *Gelasian Decree*, cf. Mansi, *Concilia*, VIII. 151. Can. XIII. orders the Roman Church to allow the marriage of the clergy; Can. XXXVI. goes so far as to declare that the See of Constantinople has equal rights with that of Rome in accordance with the Decrees of Constantinople I. and Chalcedon! Cf. Mansi, *Concilia*, XI. 927.

<sup>2</sup> See Mansi, *Concilia*, III. 1040-1041, and also 129-131 for the same Pontiff's *Breviarium Canonum ex l. p. ad Exuperium*, a sixth-century MS. from Lucca; this gives "Joannis IV." (*sic*) and omits Jude.

<sup>3</sup> *De Symbolo*, XXXVI.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep.* LIII. 8; *P.L.* XXII. 548.

<sup>5</sup> See Swete's *Ed.* of his *Commentaries on the Epistles*, 2 Vols., Cambridge University Press, 1882. Theodore does not quote in his extant remains the *Catholic Epistles* nor the *Apocalypse*.

<i>Writers.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Writings referred to.</i>
St. Augustine. The Peschitta Syriac Ver- sion.	<i>Died</i> A.D. 430. ? Fifth century.	Complete Canon. <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup>
Codex Alex- andrinus.	Fifth century.	Complete Canon. <sup>3</sup>
P. Gelasius.	<i>Died</i> A.D. 492.	Complete Canon. <sup>4</sup>

### The Muratorian Canon.

quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit.  
TERTIO EVANGELII LIBRUM SECANDO LUCAN  
lucas iste medicus post acensum xpi.  
cum eo paulus quasi ut juris studiosum.  
secundum adsumsisset numeni suo  
ex opinione concriset dñm tamen nec ipse  
duidit in carne et ide pro asequi potuit.  
ita et ad nativitate johannis incipet dicere.  
QUARTI EVANGELIORUM JOHANNIS EX DECIPOLIS  
cohortantibus condiscipolis et eps suis  
dixit conjejunate mihi : odie triduo et qui  
cuique fuerit revelatum alterutrum  
nobis ennareums eadem nocte reve  
latum andreae ex apostolis ut recognis  
centibus cuntis johannis suo nomine  
cunta discribret et ideo licit varia sin  
culis evangeliorum libris principia  
doceantur nihil tamen differt creden  
tium fedei cum uno ac principali spu de  
clarata sint in omnibus omnia de nativi  
tate de passione de resurrectione  
de convesatione cum decipolis suis  
ac de gemino ejus adventu

<sup>1</sup> *De Doctrina Christiana*, II. 12-13; P.L. XXXIV. 40-41.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 104, s.v. *Syriac Versions*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 97, *Greek MSS. of the New Testament*.

<sup>4</sup> The history of this Decree is involved in obscurity. It is uncertain how much of it is due to Pope Damasus, how much to Pope Gelasius, and how much to Pope Hormisdas, A.D. 514-523. See *infra* p. 90, and Denzinger, 11th ed., Nos. 84, 162, 166, 173, also *J.T.S.* October, 1914, p. 112.

primo in humilitate despectus quod fo  
u secundum potestate regali pre  
clarum quod foturum est. quid ergo  
mirum si johannes tam constanter  
sincula etiā in epistulis suis proferat  
dicens in semetipsu quae vidimus oculis  
nostris et auribus audivimus et manus  
nostrae palpaverunt haec scripsimus

vobis

sic enim non solum visurem sed auditorem  
sed et scriptore omnium mirabiliū dñi per ordi  
nem profetetur acta autē omniū apostolorum  
sub uno libro scribta sunt lucas obtine theofi  
le comprindit quia sub praesentia ejus singula  
gerebantur sicut et semote passione petri  
evidenter declarat sed profectione pauli ab ur  
bes ad spaniā proficescentis epistulae autem  
pauli quae a quo loco vel qua ex causa directe  
sint voluntatibus intellegere ipse declarat  
primū omnium corintheis scysmae heresis in  
terdicens deincepsb callaetis circumcissione  
romanis autē ornidine scripturarum sed et  
principium earum os esse xpm intimans  
prolexius scripsit de quibus sincolis neces  
se est ad nobis desputari cum ipse beatus  
apostulus paulus sequens prodecessoris sui  
johannis ordine non nisi comenati. semptaē  
eccleses scribat ordine tali a corenthios  
prima ad efesios seconda ad philippinses ter  
tia ad colosensis quarta ad calatas quin  
ta ad tesaolenecinsis sexta . ad romanos  
septima verum corentheis et tesaolecen  
sibus licet pro correptione iteretur una  
tamen per omnem orbem terfae ecclesia  
deffusa esse denoscitur et johannis eni in a  
pocalebsy licet septe eccleseis scribat  
tamen omnibus dicit verū ad filemonem una  
et at titū una et ad tymotheū duas pro affec  
to et dilectione in honore tamen ecclesiae ca  
tholice in ordinatione eclesiastice

# I

descepline scificate sunt fertur etiam ad  
laudicenses alia ad alexandrinus pauli no  
mine fincte ad hesem marcionis et alia plu  
ra quae in chatholicam ecclesiam recepi non  
potest fel enim cum melle misceri non con

cruit epistola sane jude et superscriptio  
 johannis duas in catholica habentur et sapi-  
 entia ab amicis salomonis in honore ipsius  
 scripta apocalypse etiam johanis et pe-  
 tri tantum recipemus quam quidam ex nos-  
 tris legi in ecclesia nolunt pastorem vero  
 nuperrim et temporibus nostris in urbe  
 roma herma aeclesiae pio eps frater  
 ejus et ideo legi eum quide oportet se pu-  
 blicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter  
 profetas completum numero neque inter  
 apostolos in fine temporum potest.

### Various Declarations touching the Canon:

1. "If anyone shall say or believe that other Scriptures besides those which the Catholic Church receives are to be held in veneration or considered authoritative, let him be anathema."<sup>1</sup>

2. "We must now treat of the divine Scriptures, viz. what the Universal Catholic Church may hold and what it must avoid."<sup>2</sup>

3. "Besides the Canonical Scriptures let nothing be read in the Church under the name of divine Scriptures. The Canonical Scriptures are the following:"—there then follows a list of the Books of O.T. and N.T., in the latter Four Gospels, the Acts, "thirteen Epistles of St. Paul as well as his Epistle to the Hebrews, two of Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude, the Apocalypse of John," are enumerated. It is then added: "But for the confirmation of this Canon let the Church across the seas be consulted. The Passions of the Martyrs may also be read when their anniversaries are kept."<sup>3</sup>

4. "What Books are to be received into the Canon the following brief list will show:" the Books are then enumerated as in the preceding save that we have "fourteen Epistles of Paul the Apostle." The

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Denzinger, No. 32, 11th ed., 1911; this is an Anti-Priscillian Decree formerly known as the *Creed of the First Council of Toledo* and referred to the year 447, but it is probably a treatise known as the *Libellus in modum Symboli*, cf. Denzinger, l.c.; and P.L. LVIII. 1103; Gennadius, *De Scriptoris Eccles.* lxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Denz. 84, 162, 166, 173, *Acts of the Roman Synod* of A.D. 382. This is Pope Gelasius' Decree *De Libris recipiendis vel non recipiendis* first published by Pope Damasus and repeated by Gelasius. After the opening clause given above there follows the catalogue of the Old and New Testament; the latter is given in the order: *Four Gospels, Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, the Apocalypse, the Acts, the Seven Catholic Epistles.* Cf. P.L. XIX. 787-794; LVI. *Opp.* S. Gelasii, 157 pp.; LVI. 172, *Appendix ad Opp.* S. Leonis M.

<sup>3</sup> Denz. 92, *The Third Council of Carthage*, A.D. 397; cf. P.L. LVI. 428, *Can.* xxxvi.; ib. 871, *Acta Concilii Carthaginensis*, A.D. 419, *Can.* xxix.



letter concludes with the words: "But the rest which are written under the name of Mathias or of James the Less, or under the names of Peter and John and which were written by a certain Leucius (or under the name of Andrew but really written by Nexocharis and Leonidas the philosophers), or under the name of Thomas, as well as any others that may exist, these are not only to be repudiated but you must know that they are to be condemned."<sup>1</sup>

5. "If anyone reads the Scriptures which Priscillian corrupted in accordance with his erroneous teachings, or the *Tractates* of Dictinius which the said Dictinius wrote previous to his conversion, or any other heretical writings whatsoever which heretics have drawn up in keeping with their errors and have published under the name of the Patriarchs or the Prophets or the Apostles, if anyone reads or adheres to or defends these impious fictions, let him be anathema."<sup>2</sup>

6. "I believe that there is but one Author of the Old Testament and the New, namely of the *Law*, the *Prophets* and the *Apostles*, viz. the Lord God Almighty."<sup>3</sup>

7. "Further I anathematise whosoever shall venerate or claim authority for any Scriptures other than those which the Catholic Church receives."<sup>4</sup>

8. "The Holy Roman Church firmly believes that one and the same God is the Author of the Old and the New Testament, viz. of the *Law*, the *Prophets* and the *Gospel*, since the Saints of either Testament spoke under the inspiration of one and the same Holy Spirit; the same Holy Roman Church receives and venerates their Books as contained under the following headings. . . ."<sup>5</sup>

9. "The Holy and Œcumenical Synod of Trent . . . seeing that this same Truth and Teaching (that set forth by Christ and His Apostles) is contained in written Books and in unwritten Traditions which—being received from the mouth of Christ by the Apostles, or by the same Apostles from the Holy Spirit's dictation, have come down to us as though delivered by hand—receives and reveres with equal devotion and veneration, in accordance with the example of the Orthodox Fathers, all the Books of the Old and the New Testament alike, since the One God is the Author of both, as also the Traditions concerning Faith and Morals which are derived as it were from Christ's mouth or have been dictated by the Holy Spirit and which have been preserved in the Catholic Church by continuous succession. It has been thought well to append a catalogue of the Sacred Books to this Decree lest any should be in doubt as to which are the Books received by the said Synod." The list then follows; that for the New Testament is as follows: "4 *Gospels*, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke and

<sup>1</sup> Denz. 96; P. Innocent I., *ad Exuperium*, Ep. VI. vii. (13); cf. P.L. XX. 495-502.

<sup>2</sup> Denz. 245, *The Council of Braga in Portugal*, A.D. 561, against the Priscillianists.

<sup>3</sup> Denz. 348; P. Leo IX., *Symbolum Fidei*.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>5</sup> Denz. 706, *The Council of Florence*, Decree for the Jacobites, A.D. 1438-1445.

John; the *Acts of the Apostles* written by Luke the Evangelist; 14 *Epistles of Paul the Apostle* (they are enumerated); of Peter the Apostle 2; of John the Apostle 3; of James the Apostle 1; of Jude the Apostle 1; and the *Apocalypse of John the Apostle*."

"If anyone shall not receive as Sacred and Canonical the entire Books with all their parts according as they are wont to be read in the Catholic Church and as they are given in the ancient Vulgate Latin edition, and if anyone shall knowingly and deliberately contemn the aforesaid Traditions, let him be anathema."<sup>1</sup>

10. "I admit and embrace the Apostolic and Ecclesiastical Traditions and all the other observances and constitutions of the said Church. Moreover I admit the Holy Scriptures according to that interpretation of them which Holy Mother Church has held and holds, for it is for her to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, neither will I ever receive or interpret it save in accordance with the unanimous consent of the Fathers."<sup>2</sup>

11. The *Vatican Council*, 1869-1870, *Sess. iii., cap. 2*, repeated the Decree of Trent touching Scripture and Tradition as the sources of our knowledge of divine Revelation and continues: "The aforesaid entire Books of the Old and the New Testament with all their parts, are to be received as sacred and canonical according to the list set forth in the said Council's Decree and as they are given in the ancient Vulgate Latin edition. Further, the Church receives these Books as sacred and canonical not because they were compiled by human industry and afterwards approved by the Church's authority, nor merely because they contain Revelation without error, but because they were written through the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit and thus have for God their Author, and as such have been delivered to the Church."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Denz. 783-4.

<sup>2</sup> Denz. 995; Pius IV., *Bulla Injunctum nobis*, 1564.

<sup>3</sup> Denz. 1787.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE GREEK TESTAMENT

- A. Need of Study of the Original Text.
- B. Manuscripts of the Greek Testament.
- C. The Papyri.
- D. Printed Editions of the Greek Testament.

#### A. Need of Study of the Original Text.

THE New Testament was written in Greek originally save for the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, though even this has only been preserved for us in its Greek dress. Greek might be described as the *lingua franca* of the early centuries of Christianity; indeed the translation of the Old Testament into Greek prepared the way for the speedy propagation of Christianity. The Fathers of the Church used the Greek Testament and commented on it; this was the case even with the Latin Fathers, *e.g.* St. Jerome and St. Augustīne, thus the latter remarks of his *Exposition of the Epistle of St. James* that "it is of some use save for the fact that when I dictated those notes we had not a careful translation of the *Epistle* from the Greek when we were reading it."<sup>1</sup> It was inevitable however that in the course of time the translations into the various vernacular tongues should supersede the original text. This was the case in Syria where the Syriac versions prevailed to such an extent that at the opening of the fourth century Rabbula the Bishop of Edessa felt constrained to translate the New Testament

<sup>1</sup> *Retract.* II, xxxii. ; *P.L.* XXXII. 643.

afresh from the Greek,<sup>1</sup> and especially in the West where the Latin translations almost completely ousted the Greek text. When, after the fall of Constantinople in A.D. 1453, Europe was flooded with Greek MSS., the study of the Greek Testament was taken up with enthusiasm. We see the effect of this Renaissance in Erasmus' editions of the Greek Testament as well as in those published by Stephens. Neither did the commentators of those days neglect the Greek text, it will suffice to instance Cardinal Cajetan's<sup>2</sup> works on the New Testament. The Reformers however went to extremes; they scorned the Latin versions and looked upon the Greek text as a hammer wherewith to destroy all Church authority as being based upon a corrupt and untrustworthy translation. Hence the battle of versions and renderings which compelled the Tridentine Fathers to pronounce that the Latin Vulgate was the authentic Latin version.<sup>3</sup> This did not mean that the Vulgate was to supersede the original, nor that it was a perfect translation. Appeal to the original was in no sense discouraged, rather the reverse, as is evident from the title-page of the Rheims and Douay versions of N.T. and O.T. respectively.<sup>4</sup>

It may not be amiss to point out some of the advantages accruing from a study of the Greek text. (a) The *tenses* are naturally of prime importance for arriving at a clear sense of the text, e.g. in 2 Cor. iii. the involved argument of St. Paul is rendered still more intricate if the tenses are not carefully and exactly rendered, cf. John xv. 6.

<sup>1</sup> See *s.v.* *Syriac Versions*.

<sup>2</sup> Died A.D. 1535.

<sup>3</sup> “Further, the same Holy Synod, reflecting that there may accrue no small gain to the Church of God if it be clearly made known which of all the Latin versions of the Sacred Books which are in circulation is to be considered authentic: pronounces and declares that the well-known (*hæc ipsa*) old and commonly-used (*vulgata*) edition which has been approved by so many centuries of use in the Church itself, is to be held as authentic in public readings, disputations, preachings and expositions, and that no one is to dare or presume to reject it on any pretext whatsoever.” See *Denzinger*, No. 785, 11th ed., 1911.

<sup>4</sup> The Title page of the Rheims New Testament runs as follows: *The New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated faithfully into English, out of the authentical Latin, according to the best corrected copies of the same, diligently conferred with the Greeke and other editions in divers languages: With Arguments of bookes and chapters, Annotations and other necessarie helpes, for the better understanding of the text, and especially for the better discoverie of the Corruptions of divers late translations, and for clearing the Controversies in religion of these daies.*

Perhaps no version can do complete justice to the Greek tenses any more than to the notoriously difficult Hebrew tenses. (b) The *prepositions* require very careful handling, e.g. John i. 1, 18. (c) The same is the case with the *conjunctions*, e.g. St. Paul's favourite *ἀρα*. (d) The *compound verbs* afford us, when rightly understood, an insight into the meaning such as would not otherwise be obtained, see 2 Cor. v. 8. (e) The *article*, again, is a source of difficulty and is often obscured in the Rheims version owing to the fact that Latin has no article, see such familiar examples as John i. 21, 25, xvii. 14; cf. Matt. v. 39. (f) The so-called "recitative" *ὅτι* is often rendered unnecessarily by *quia* in the Vulgate, e.g. John ix. 9, 17, and sometimes accorded a place in the Vulgate without warrant from the Greek, e.g. John x. 34. (g) It is often impossible to tell from a translation whether the author is using some frequently recurring word or not, since care has not been taken always to render the same word by the same English equivalent; thus note the varying renderings of *λόγος* by *verbum*, *sermo* and *ratio*, 1 Cor. i. 5, ii. 4, xv. 2; of *νοῦς* by *sensus*, *mens*, *intellectus*, Rom. i. 28, vii. 23, Apoc. xiii. 18; of *νόημα* by *sensus*, *mens*, *intellectus*, *intelligentia*, 2 Cor. iii. 14, iv. 4, x. 5, Phil. iv. 7; of *ἐγκράτεια* by *abstinentia*, *continentia*, *castitas*, 2 Peter i. 6, Gal. v. 23, Acts xxiv. 25; of *ἀγνός* by *incontaminatus*, *castus*, *sanctus*, *puer*, 2 Cor. vii. 11, xi. 2, Phil. iv. 8, Jas. iii. 17; the failure to discriminate between *κρίνω* and its compounds, 1 Cor. iv. 1-5; *ἐξαποπνεύσθαι* is rendered by *tedere*, *tedious*, 2 Cor. i. 8, by *destituimur*, *destitute*, iv. 8; *ἀπορεύεσθαι* by *hesitantes*, *doubting*, John xiii. 22, by *aporiāmur*, *we want*, 2 Cor. iv. 8, by *confundor*, *confounded*, Gal. iv. 20, etc.<sup>1</sup> (h) The true significance of many theological terms can only be gauged by the Greek, e.g. *sacramentum*, Ephes. iii. 3, and note such Greek terms as *πλήρωμα*, *ἐσκήνωσεν*, John i. 14, *φιλεῖν* and *ἀγαπᾶν* in John xxi. 15-17, *ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας* and *χειροτονήσαντες*, xiv. 23. Similarly the Greek equivalent of such words as *consummatio*, Ephes. iv. 12, 1 Cor. i. 10, 2 Cor. xiii. 9; *gratulatio*, Phil. i. 26; *causa*, Phil. i. 28; *necessarium*, iii. 1; *reformabit*, iii. 21; *conversatio*, Ephes. ii. 12, Phil. iii. 20, i. 27; *omnia* in John xii. 32, is often illuminative. (i) Last but not least comes the question of Greek syntax and Grammar in the time of Christ. The time has gone by when peculiarities of N.T. Greek, as it used to be termed, could be explained by saying that they are due to the fact that the writers were thinking in Aramaic but expressing their thoughts in Greek. Neither can we now maintain that an adequate explanation of many apparent *solecisms* is to be found in the writer's familiarity with the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. The Papyri so laboriously discovered

<sup>1</sup> We are far from implying that on all occasions the same Greek word should be translated by the same English equivalent. It is impossible to be pedantic in such a matter. The genius of each language is different and the context will often show us that the original can only be correctly rendered by varying the English terms used, a classic instance would be the use of *παρακαλεῖν* in 2 Cor. i., cf. St. Jerome, *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum*, iii. 15, P.L. XXVI. 589; note also St. John's distinction between *αἰτεῖν* and *ἐρωτᾶν*, xiv. 13-16, xv. 7, xvi. 23-26.



and deciphered during the last decade have shown us convincingly that the Greek of St. Paul's Epistles, for example, is precisely that which was in use in ordinary correspondence at that time. It is not a law unto itself.

## B. Manuscripts of the Greek Testament.

**Codex Vaticanus, B.**—This is the oldest MS. of the Greek Testament in existence, it dates from the early part of the fourth century. Little is known of its history save that it was in the Vatican library in the time of Nicolas V. in 1448; possibly it was brought there by Cardinal Bessarion. Napoleon carried it off to Paris, but after the battle of Waterloo it was returned to Rome. This MS. is defective from Heb. ix. 14 to the end, but as the *Catholic Epistles* follows upon *Acts* this mutilation only implies the omission of the latter portion of *Hebrews* and of the *Apocalypse*; these omissions have been supplied by a later hand. The punctuation, the breathings and the accents are also due to a later hand. Mark xvi. 9-20 was deliberately omitted, as is shown by the space left for it. The MS. was corrected by the official corrector, or Diorthotes, as also by at least two later correctors. The Codex is remarkable for its omissions; it has been calculated that these amount to no less than 2556 in all for N.T.<sup>1</sup> It is peculiar in having three columns of text to a page, and the conjecture has been made that since *Codex Sinaiticus*,  $\aleph$ , has four columns to the page, we have here the explanation of Eusebius' account of the fifty copies of the Scriptures which he had made at the order of Constantine “volumes of a threefold and fourfold form.”<sup>2</sup> The MS. may however have been written at Rome<sup>3</sup> or in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> The text of *Vaticanus* has been collated many times though imperfectly, in 1669, 1720, 1729, 1780, at Paris by Hug in 1809, by Tischendorf three times in 1843,

<sup>1</sup> So Dr. Dobbin in *Dublin University Magazine*, November, 1859, p. 620, quoted in *Scrivener-Miller*, I. 120 note.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Constantina*, IV. xxxvii., P.G. XX. 1185, where Eusebius writes τετράσσι τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ represented in Latin by “terniones et quaterniones” which would seem however to demand rather *τριπλῶς καὶ τετραπλῶς*, whereas *τρισσὰ καὶ τετρασσὰ* might well be used to express the arrangement of the text in three and four columns respectively, see Cook in *Scrivener-Miller*, II. p. 119 note.

<sup>3</sup> So the Roman editors in ed. of 1889.

<sup>4</sup> So Hort, *Introduction*, p. 267.



1845, 1866, from this last collation Tischendorf produced his edition of 1867. The MS. was edited, imperfectly, by Mai in 1857, by Vercellone in 1859, by Vercellone and Cozza in 1868, by Fabiani and Cozza in 1881, till, in 1889, it was reproduced as a photo-lithograph by Cozza-Luzi.<sup>1</sup>

**Codex Sinaiticus,  $\aleph$ .** was discovered by Tischendorf in visits to Mount Sinai from 1844 to 1859. He published both O.T. and N.T. from 1846-1862, and N.T. alone in 1863. The text of N.T. is complete; as in *B* the *Catholic Epp.* follow after *Acts*, and *Hebrews* follows 2 *Thess.* The MS. contains the *Ep. of Barnabas*, as well as a large fragment of the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Mark xvi. 9-20 is deliberately omitted. There are neither breathings nor accents; punctuation is generally wanting. The copy was corrected by the original scribe, as well as by his official corrector, also by a sixth-century corrector,  $\aleph^a$ , by  $\aleph^b$  a little later, in very many places by  $\aleph^c$  of the seventh century, and by as many as eight other correctors of later date. Tischendorf held that one of these copyists of  $\aleph$  also had a part in copying *B*, and this is endorsed by Hort<sup>2</sup> and by Scrivener-Miller.<sup>3</sup> It is generally conceded that  $\aleph$  is practically contemporaneous with *B*, *i.e.* about the middle of the fourth century. The MS. has been published in facsimile by Lake. This editor would hold that both  $\aleph$  and *B* came from the same scriptorium, and that both were written in Egypt. The text stands in four columns;<sup>4</sup> the numerals are represented by letters.

**Codex Alexandrinus,  $\mathbf{A}$ .**—This famous copy is now in the British Museum; it was presented to Charles I. by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1628. It may be referred to the close of the fourth century or to the opening of the fifth. An Arabic note says that it was copied by St. Thecla the martyr. The punctuation is elementary, and has not been added to by any later hand.<sup>5</sup> The contents of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Codex B. and its Allies*, Hoskier, London, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *Introduction*, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *II.* 96, note, but cf. Lagrange in *R.B.*, October, 1913, p. 486

<sup>4</sup> See above, *Codex Vaticanus*.

<sup>5</sup> For accents, etc., in early MSS. see St. Epiphanius, *De Mensuris* ii., P.G. XLIII. 238.

the Codex are peculiar: prefixed to the Psalms is St. Athanasius' *Ep. ad Marcellinum*, at the end come two *Epistles* of St. Clement, as well as a collection of *Odes*, including the *Magnificat* which is referred to the *θεότοκος*. The table of contents shows that originally the *Psalms of Solomon* were appended, though they are now lacking. The text of N.T. is deficient in Matt. i-xxv. 5, John vi. 50—viii. 22; 2 Cor. iv. 13—xii. 7. The Greek text is interesting since it approximates to the text preserved in later MSS. rather than to that given in *Σ* and *B*. The MS. may have been copied at Alexandria. It was collated by Young in 1633, the O.T. was edited by Grabe in 1707-1720, the N.T. by Woide in 1786, a folio edition, in octavo by Cowper in 1860, by Hansell in 1864, while the British Museum published an autotype copy in 1879. The *Epistles of Clement* were edited from it by Young in 1633.<sup>1</sup>

**Codex Ephræmi Rescriptus, C.**—This is a palimpsest, *i.e.*, somewhere about the twelfth century the original writing was partially rubbed out and the parchment used for a copy of a Greek translation of some of St. Ephraim's works, hence the name by which the MS. is known. The underlying Biblical text is valuable, and is to be referred to the fifth century. Two correctors, C\*\* and C\*\*\* worked over the text, the former probably in the sixth century, the latter perhaps in the ninth century, when the MS. appears to have found its way to Constantinople. After the fall of Constantinople in A.D. 1453 the Codex became the property of Catharine de Medici, and later passed to the Paris Library. Not quite two-thirds of the text of N.T. have been preserved, and even this is only legible with difficulty. There is only one column to the page, there are no accents or breathings by the original writer, the punctuation is slight. The copy may have been made at Alexandria. It was collated by Wetstein for Bentley in 1716, and a fine edition was published by Tischendorf in 1843.

**Codex Bezae or Cantabrigdiensis, D.**—This MS. was presented to the University of Cambridge by Theodore Beza in 1581; he declared that he obtained it from the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons in 1562. It is thought that it was brought to the Council of Trent in 1546 by the Bishop of

<sup>1</sup> For a study of this MS. see *J.T.S.*, 1910, p. 514.

Claremont. The MS. almost certainly dates from the sixth century, and its main interest lies in the fact that it presents a bilingual, *viz.*, Greek and Latin, text of the *Gospels* and *Acts* which accords with the text known to Irenæus towards the close of the second century. The *Gospels* are in the order Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark; there are gaps in the text of each, as also in *Acts*. There are also sixty-seven leaves wanting and this gap closes with 3 John 11-15; on the supposition that the *Catholic Epistles* were here given they would only have occupied some thirty-six leaves, so that we still have a space of sixteen leaves to account for. This interesting MS. lay neglected for a long time, though Stephens had given readings from it in his edition of 1550, while Ussher collated it for Walton's Polyglott and Kipling edited it in 1793. Of late years it has been much studied by reason of the curious additions it presents to the ordinary text, especially in *Acts*. These latter are so curiously extensive that Blass was led to suppose that we had in this text an earlier and less polished edition of his *Acts* published by Luke himself.<sup>1</sup> Scrivener published a handy edition of it in 1864, and in 1891 Rendel Harris set forth the ingenious but unconvincing theory that "the Bezan Latin is of prime importance, while the *Greek* has no certain value, except where it differs from its own Latin, and must not any longer be regarded as an independent authority."<sup>2</sup> Rendel Harris even held that the text, in the *Gospels* at least, was older than Tatian. The question of this Western text as it is called, and of its relation to the Syriac text and to Irenæus, has been discussed by Chase.<sup>3</sup> The Cambridge University published a photolithographic edition in 1898.

The foregoing are the principal Uncial MSS. of N.T. The Cursive MSS. are of later date of course, but they are of immense importance, since they are derived from older MSS., so that their actual date is not of such consequence as their affinity with better known MSS. The number of known Cursive MSS. is legion, no less than 1,321 are

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam*, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> *Texts and Studies*, II. p. 161. An early date is claimed for the text in D by C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, pp. 178-9, Clarendon Press, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> *The Old Syriac Element in the text of Codex Bezaë* 1893, and *The Syro-Latin text of the Gospels*, 1895.

enumerated in Scrivener-Miller for the *Gospels* alone, 420 for *Acts*, 491 for *St. Paul's Epistles*, 184 for *Apocalypse*, 963 *Evangelistaria* or manuscript copies of the Gospels for liturgical purposes, and 288 *Lectionaries* or service books containing the *Epistles* or *Acts*. Some of the cursives are better known than others because they have been more diligently studied—*e.g.*, Nos. 1, 33, 102, 118, 131, which betray affinity with *Σ*, *B*, *L*, Nos. 13, 69 (the famous *Codex Leicestrensis*), 124, 346, forming the so-called *Ferrar* group and approximating to the Old Latin, the Harclean Syriac, and the uncials *D* and *L*. *Codex Montfortianus*, No. 61, is of interest owing to the fact that it has the text of the *Three Heavenly Witnesses* in 1 John v. 7, and thus convinced Erasmus that there was Greek warrant for this passage.<sup>1</sup>

### C. The Papyri.

If the ever-growing number of Biblical texts has rendered the problem of Textual Criticism more complicated, the discovery of the Papyri in these last years has tended to make it still more so. From the year 1877, when the first large finds of papyri were made at Arsinoe in the Fayoum, an ever-growing flood of papyri has poured into the museums of Europe. For convenience' sake these papyri are tabulated according to the place in which they are found, or according to the collections in which they are now formed, or according to the name of some well-known collector. Thus we have the *Oxyrhynchus* Papyri, the *British Museum* Papyri, and the *Amherst* Papyri. The oldest dated documents amongst them are those of 311 B.C.; the earlier ones are carefully dated according to the day, month, and year, but after the close of the first century A.D. the year is not found. The Biblical fragments discovered are not, relatively speaking, very numerous, but they are of immense importance. Thus amongst other fragments of N.T. we have the greater part of Matt. i. discovered in January, 1896,<sup>2</sup> and referred to the close of the third century; also Matt. xii. 25-26, 31-33 of the same

<sup>1</sup> For some idea of the work yet to be done on the *Cursive MSS.* see Hoskier, *J.T.S.*, 1913, pp. 245, 359.

<sup>2</sup> *Egypt Explor. Rep.* 1895-6.

period;<sup>1</sup> John ii. 11-22 of the fourth century;<sup>2</sup> John xv. 25-27, xvi. 21-31 of the close of the third century;<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 18—viii. 1 of the fourth century;<sup>4</sup> Phil. iii. 9—iv. 4 of the same date;<sup>5</sup> Heb. ix. 12-19 of the fourth century;<sup>6</sup> Apoc. i. 4-7 third to fourth century,<sup>7</sup> iii. 19—iv. 1 fourth century,<sup>8</sup> also v. 5-8, vi. 5-8;<sup>9</sup> Jas. i. 10-18;<sup>10</sup> as well as many other fragments of which a list is given in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, pp. 3559 ff. As for the textual affinities of these fragments the general opinion is that they approximate rather to the text of *Æ* B and C than to that of the later Uncials.<sup>11</sup> But this is hardly borne out by Grenfell and Hunt's statements, which are exceedingly cautious on this point.<sup>12</sup> The greatest Biblical "find" of late years has been of the MSS. now known as the Freer MSS. These were discovered in Egypt in 1907, and consist of copies of *Deuteronomy* and *Josue* of the sixth century, a *Psalter* and fragments of *St. Paul's Epistles* of the same date, and a complete copy of the four *Gospels* said to date from the fifth century, and giving another ending to *St. Mark's Gospel* only known previously from *St. Jerome*.<sup>13</sup>

We must hold our hand for the present in the realm of textual criticism of N.T. till the vast material at our disposal is more thoroughly sifted. It will be long before this is done, for Dr. Grenfell remarked in 1908 that only one-sixth of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* alone had as yet been deciphered.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, X.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, X.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, X.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, IX. and X.

<sup>11</sup> *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Milligan, 1912, p. xxix. note.

<sup>12</sup> See their remarks on the Biblical fragments given, for instance, in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VI., VII. and VIII.

<sup>13</sup> *Egypt Explor. Rep.* 1907-8, pp. 47-48; see *R.B.* July, 1908, p. 450.

<sup>14</sup> *Athenæum*, August 22, 1908, quoted in Milligan, *l.c.* p. xxv. note. For the whole subject see, in addition to the great publications of Papyri which are not readily accessible, Milligan's *Selections* given above, an excellent handbook and very cheap; also Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 2nd ed. 1909; *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910; also two most interesting papers, *Oxyrhynchus and its Papyri* by Grenfell in the *Egypt Exploration Report* for 1896-7, and *Papyri and Papyrology* by Hunt

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, VII.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

In addition to fragments of O.T. and N.T. the papyri have disclosed the existence of an immense number of apocryphal works which were in circulation in the early days of Christianity. The most interesting of these of course are the so-called *Logia* or “Sayings” of Christ. Three sets of these, or of fragments of them, have been discovered; they were published separately by the Clarendon Press in 1897, 1904, and 1908. Besides these we have, amongst many others, valuable additions to our knowledge of such works as the *Book of Enoch*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and the *Protevangelium*.

## D. Printed Editions of the Greek Testament.

The first half-century of the printing press saw at least 124 editions of the Latin Bible,<sup>1</sup> but it was not till 1520 that the N.T. in Cardinal Ximenes’ Complutensian Polyglott saw the light, though this portion, *viz.* the N.T., had been completed since 1514. It is impossible at this date to ascertain what MSS. were made use of in this edition, but it is practically certain that none of an acknowledged standing were used. Erasmus published five editions, in 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. Of his first edition Erasmus himself said: “Præcipitatum fuit verius quam editum,”<sup>2</sup> and its typographical errors are such as to make Scrivener say “Erasmus’ first edition is in this respect the most faulty book I know.”<sup>3</sup>

Robert Stephen (Etienne) published four editions, 1546, 1549, 1550, and 1551. His third edition is of interest as being the first with a critical apparatus; the MSS. he used are fairly well identified with the Cursive Codices of the Gospels 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 120. The most interesting feature, however, is his use of *Bezae*, D. Stephen’s fourth edition is remarkable as giving for the first time the division into verses.

Theodore Beza, or de Beze, published no less than four folio and six octavo editions of the Greek N.T. between 1565 and 1611. He unfortunately adapted his choice of readings to his theological prepossessions. Beza based his

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in the *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, I. ii. April, 1914. Moulton and Milligan are bringing out now (1917) *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament illustrated from the Papyri* in six 6s. parts, Hodder and Stoughton.

<sup>1</sup> See Scrivener-Miller, II. p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185; cf. *Expositor*, June, 1916.



text on Stephen's fourth edition, and the Elzevir edition of 1624 is again based on this, so that Beza might well claim to be the real author of the *Received Text*.

The Elzevir texts are famous for their beauty as well as for the claim made in the *Preface* to the edition of 1624 that the text printed is "received by all," see below, *The Received Text*.

These early printed copies may be said to have laid the foundation of our printed text, but the work expended on the text was in no sense critical. From the date of publication of the Elzevir editions the history of the printed text merges in the history of textual criticism.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE PRINCIPAL VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

#### I

- A. The Syriac Versions of the New Testament.
  - B. The Syriac Canon of the New Testament.
  - C. The Importance of these Versions for Textual Criticism of the New Testament.
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#### A. The Syriac Versions of the New Testament.

THESE versions are of the highest importance for the critical study of the Gospels, especially for criticism of the text.

1. The **Peshitta** or "simple" version is said to be so-called by contrast with the later *Harcleian* version (see *infra*), though Moses bar Cephais, *d.* A.D. 913, so terms it by way of contrast with the Syro-Hexapla version which retained the obeli and asterisks inserted by Origen in his edition of the Septuagint; it must be confessed that this is a far more rational explanation of the term since the Harcleian version is a slavish translation of the Greek, and would itself merit the term "simple." The Peshitta version is that to be found in the ordinary printed Syriac text, and corresponds to the Latin Vulgate;<sup>1</sup> both the Peshitta and the Vulgate have merited the appellation of "Queen of Versions."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in Greek, Introductory Vol. II. passim*; this expression is just if it refers solely to the official position of the version, but it is misleading in so far as it implies a relation to the Curetonian and Sinaitic versions which is, up to the present, simply hypothetical.

<sup>2</sup> Miller, *A Guide to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 1886, p. 75.

The date of this version is a subject of keen dispute (see *infra*); one school would refer it to the second century A.D., another would regard it as a revision dating from the first half of the fifth century. Whatever conclusion may be arrived at on this point it remains that we have more numerous and more ancient MSS. of the Peshitta than of almost any version, some of them even dating from the fifth century.<sup>1</sup>

2. The Curetonian Syriac Version.—In the year 1858 Dr. Cureton published from a collection of Syriac MSS. discovered at the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in Nitria, a MS. of the Gospels, or rather, of large portions of them. It was only natural that the editor should magnify the importance of his “find,” but it was hardly to be expected that he should imagine that he had discovered “the original—to a great extent—of the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew”!<sup>2</sup> It was generally agreed, however, that the Curetonian Syriac,<sup>3</sup> C, as it came to be called, represented an older version than the Peshitta; hence it is commonly known as “the Old Syriac,” O.S.<sup>4</sup> Cureton himself assigned the actual MS. to the middle of the latter half of the fifth century,<sup>5</sup> Burkitt would assign it to the opening of that century.<sup>6</sup> The Curetonian differed largely from the Peshitta, and it was natural to suppose that the latter represented a later state of the Syriac version, perhaps even a formal revision of it, while the Curetonian stood for the Old Syriac text which had prevailed previous to that revision. The relation between the two versions would, on this

<sup>1</sup> The earliest printed edition is that by Widmanstadt, Vienna, 1555, see Miller’s ed. of Scrivener’s *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, II. p. 8, 1894. A critical edition of the Syriac Gospels according to the Peshitta text has been published, *Tetraevangelium Sanctum*, Pusey and Gwilliam, Oxford, 1901. For the early MSS. of the Peshitta see Gwilliam, *Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto New Testament*, *Studia Biblica*, III. pp. 47-104.

<sup>2</sup> Scrivener-Miller, *l.c.* II. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Remains of a very Antient Version of the Four Gospels in Syriac*, Cureton, London, 1858. This has been re-edited by Burkitt, together with the readings of the Sinaitic Codex, see *Journal Theol. Studies*, I. 569.

<sup>4</sup> So Westcott and Hort and later textual critics after them.

<sup>5</sup> *Studia Biblica*, I. 170.

<sup>6</sup> *Texts and Studies*, VII. 2, p. vi.

hypothesis, be parallel to that which subsists between the Old Latin and the Vulgate Latin.<sup>1</sup>

3. **The Sinaitic Syriac.**—In 1892 Mrs. Lewis discovered in the Convent of St. Katharine on Mount Sinai a palimpsest MS. of the Syriac Gospels. This is known as the Codex Lewisiana, or the Sinaitic Gospels, S; Burkitt would refer it to the end of the fourth century.<sup>2</sup> This MS. proved to be much more in agreement with the Curetonian than with the Peshitta; it was therefore hailed as another example of the hypothetical pre-Peshitta unrevised text, and took its place with the Curetonian as part of the “Old Syriac.”<sup>3</sup> The curious feature about this MS. is its heretical character, thus in Matt. i. 16 “*Joseph, to whom was espoused Mary the Virgin, begot Jesus,*” i. 21; “she shall give *thee* a son,” i. 24; “he took unto him his wife and she gave *him* a son”; and, as though to accentuate these heretical statements, the first portion of i. 25 “And he knew her not till she brought forth . . .” is omitted! It is worth recalling that St. Jerome<sup>4</sup> speaks of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* as composed in Syriac though presented in Hebrew characters. Moreover, he calls it an Ebionitic Gospel, and these features of the Sinai-Syriac are distinctively Ebionitic. The omissions of the ordinarily disputed passages are equally striking; the last twelve verses of Mark are omitted, likewise the Sweat of Blood, Luke xxii. 43-44, and the story of the woman taken in adultery, John vii. 53—viii. 11. But the most curious omission is that of Luke xxiii. 10-13, the reconciliation of Pilate with Herod, a passage which is elsewhere uniformly attested.<sup>5</sup>

4. **Tatian's Diatessaron.**—This was a harmony of the Four Gospels which was apparently in almost universal use at one time. Eusebius refers to it as a work which was, apparently, composed by Tatian after he had ceased to be a disciple of St. Justin at Rome and had returned to Assyria: “Tatian,” says Eusebius, “composed a harmony and collation (συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν) of the Gospels,

<sup>1</sup> For this controversy see *infra*, pp. 109-113.

<sup>2</sup> *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest*, 1894.

<sup>3</sup> *Texts and Studies*, VII. 2, p. vii.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Pelagianos*, III. 2, P.L. XXIII. 570, cf. *Introduction to St. Matthew's Gospel*.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to the *Biblical Dictionaries* see *R.B.*, April and July, 1895.

I know not how; to this he affixed the name of *Diatessaron*, and it is even now in the hands of some."<sup>1</sup> It is uncertain whether this Harmony was made according to the Greek or the Syriac text; the latter is the more probable view.<sup>2</sup> It has perished long since, but we have (a) St. Ephraim's *Commentary* on it in an Armenian version,<sup>3</sup> (b) an Arabic version of it from the eleventh century,<sup>4</sup> and (c) the Latin *Codex Fuldensis* of the Gospels; this latter was drawn up by Victor of Capua about A.D. 540, but it "is completely assimilated to the Latin Vulgate; and the order of the events, while agreeing in the main with the Arabic Harmony and the Commentary of St. Ephraim, has in many places been altered."<sup>5</sup>

5. The Philoxenian Syriac is a literal translation of the entire Bible save the Apocalypse; it was made in A.D. 508 by the Chorepiscopus Polycarp for Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug, A.D. 488-518.<sup>6</sup>

6. The Harcleian Syriac Version was made in the year A.D. 616, when Paul of Tella translated the Old Testament into Syriac and Thomas of Harkel did the same for the New Testament; the version was made at Alexandria. The Greek MSS. used for *Acts* resembled *Codex Bezae*; for the *Epistles* recourse was had to MSS. in the library at Cæsarea. At one time it was thought that the *Apocalypse* was not included, but it was discovered in A.D. 1627.<sup>7</sup>

These two translations represent an undoubted revision

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* IV. xxix. 6; in the Syriac version of *H.E.* we have "he gathered and mixed and composed a Gospel and called it *Diatessaron*, i.e. of the "Mixed," which is still with many; Nestle, *H.D.B.* IV. 646. Victor, *Praef.* ii, *P.L.* LXVIII. 253, seems to assert that it was made previous to Tatian's Apostacy.

<sup>2</sup> Nestle, *l.c.*; Mingana, *Expository Times*, November, 1914, and February, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> According to Burkitt, *St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels, Texts and Studies*, VII. 2, p. vi., this Arabic version was "translated from a later form of the Syriac text in which the wording had been almost entirely assimilated to the Peshitta."

<sup>4</sup> This has been translated into English by Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, Edinburgh, 2nd ed. 1910; see the same author's *Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of St. Ephraim the Syrian*, 1896.

<sup>5</sup> Burkitt, *l.c.* p. vii. For the *Diatessaron* see *J.T.S.* January, 1910, p. 194, and *R.B.* April, 1912.

<sup>6</sup> Nestle, *H.D.B.* iv. 648; Gwilliam, *Studia Biblica*, I. 167.

<sup>7</sup> *H.D.B.* IV. 648.

and are therefore of interest, in view of the controversy touching a possible revision by Rabbula at the opening of the fifth century; the former revisions have left traces, the latter practically none.

7. The so-called Karkaphensian version is not a version at all, but corresponds to the Massorah on the Hebrew text, *i.e.* it is a collection of passages given with a view to the preservation of the best traditions touching the orthography and pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

### B. The Syriac N.T. Canon.

The question of the completeness of the Canon in use in the Syrian Churches is still undecided. The treatise known as *The Doctrine of Addai* (Thaddeus)<sup>2</sup> has the following remark: "The *Law* and the *Prophets*, which ye read every day before the people, and the *Epistles* of Paul, which Simon Peter sent us from the city of Rome, and the *Acts of the Twelve Apostles*, which John the son of Zebedee sent us from Ephesus; these Books read ye in the Churches of Christ, and with these read not any other, as there is not any other in which the truth that ye hold is written."<sup>3</sup> This would seem to exclude all the "Catholic Epistles." Indeed, a Codex found at Mount Sinai, and published in the *Studia Sinaitica*, I. p. 11 ff., gives a list of all the Canonical Books of the N.T. showing the *stichi* or clauses which each contained. These embrace "the Four Gospels," the "Acts," and "Paul the Apostle," and there follows immediately the total for "the Holy Books which the Holy Church receives."<sup>4</sup> Hence it is commonly held that the other books found in the printed editions of the Peshitta were incorporated from the later Philoxenian version. Similarly Gwilliam says: "The Peshitto Canon does not include 2 Peter, 2-3 John, Jude, Revelation."<sup>5</sup> But Gwilliam himself cites a MS. of the Peshitta as containing *Jude*,<sup>6</sup> while various old

<sup>1</sup> Gwilliam, *Studia Biblica*, III., *The Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto New Testament*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Ed.* Phillips, London, 1876, p. 44, see Nestle, *H.D.B.* IV. 647.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Doctrine of Addai*, *ed.* Phillips, 1876, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *H.D.B.* IV. 647.

<sup>5</sup> *The Place of the Peshitto, Texts and Studies*, V. 3, p. 191, note; and *Materials for the Criticism of the Peshitto N.T.*, *Studia Biblica*, III. p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> *A Syriac Biblical MS. of the Fifth Century*, *Studia Biblica*, I. 157.



translations of the Apocalypse have been discovered of late years, and it is claimed for them that they represent an old version.<sup>1</sup> In addition we have to take into account the witness of a remarkable Syriac-Chinese stone inscription erected at Singan-fu in A.D. 781 and discovered by the Jesuit missionaries in 1625; this speaks of the twenty-seven Books of N.T.<sup>2</sup>

### C. These Syriac Versions are an Important Factor in the Textual Problem of N.T.

We have four series of documents: the Peshitta Syriac, *P*, the Curetonian, *C*, the Sinaitic, *S*, and Tatian's Diatessaron, *T*. What is their relative order in point of time? To what extent are they dependent on one another?

Can we say, for instance, that *C* and *S* represent the Syriac Gospels as they stood in the second century, that *T* presents a harmony based on them, and that *P* represents a later revision which, like St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate, held the field?

This would be an exceedingly simple solution, but there are many difficulties in the way. In the first place, *C* and *S* differ considerably from one another. Secondly, we have no real trace of the actual text of *T*. Thirdly, it is difficult to find any historical allusion to a revision which must have been well known. The hypothesis that *P* did actually represent such a revision was put forward by Dr. Hort,<sup>3</sup> and consequently *P* became known as the Syriac *Vulgate*, as though there was a demonstrated historical resemblance between it and St. Jerome's Latin Vulgate, both of them, that is, being due to a formal revision. Similarly *P* has been aptly termed "the Queen of versions,"<sup>4</sup> an honorific title equally due to the Latin Vulgate. But while St. Jerome's revision is a great historic fact, the same can hardly be said for a revision of the Syriac Gospels. Still we have, it is true, three historical statements which must be weighed. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrhus, *d.* A.D. 457, says:

<sup>1</sup> *The Apocalypse of St. John, a Syriac version hitherto unknown*, ed. by Prof. J. Gwynne, Dublin, 1897. See too *Studia Biblica*, III. p. 54, note, also Nestle, *H.D.B.* IV. 649.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 645.

<sup>3</sup> *New Testament in Greek*, II. Section iii. pp. 135-145.

<sup>4</sup> Miller, *A Guide to Textual Criticism*, p. 75.

“He (Tatian) also compiled the Gospel known as the *Diatessaron*, in which he omitted the genealogies as well as other passages which show that the Lord was born of the seed of David. And not only do those who belong to his following use this, but even those do so who follow the Apostolic teachings; for they do not detect the fraud of this compilation, but use it in guileless fashion as a compendious book. I myself found more than two hundred of these books held in honour in churches of ours, and I collected them all and set them on one side and introduced in their place the Gospels of the Four Evangelists.”<sup>1</sup>

The second statement is that made by the biographer of Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, A.D. 412-435, *viz.*, that this Bishop ordained that in all Churches the “Gospels of the Separate” should be kept and read.<sup>2</sup> This term “Separate” can only be understood as applying to the “Separate” Gospels as distinct from the *Diatessaron*. It is of interest, then, to remark that both *C* and *S* bear the title of “Separate” Gospels, *da Mepharreshe*.<sup>3</sup> Unless this title is a later addition we seem to have in it a proof that *C* and *S* are later than *T*. The third statement bears directly on the question of revision: the above-mentioned biographer says that Rabbula “translated the N.T. out of the Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, exactly as it stood.”<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that this translation is our Peshitta *P*. An interesting attempt was made by Mr. Woods to overthrow this hypothesis by showing<sup>5</sup> that St. Ephraim, *d.* A.D. 373, was well acquainted with *P*, and that consequently this version was well known some fifty years previous to Rabbula’s work. But Burkitt was able to show that the Roman edition of St. Ephraim’s works contained an immense amount that was spurious, and that whereas Woods had maintained that out of 168 quotations of the Gospels in Ephraim no less than 43 were exactly *P*,<sup>6</sup> the truth was that after elimination

<sup>1</sup> *Hæreticarum Fabularum Compendium*, XX. P.G. LXXXIII. 372. Thus we have a positive statement by Theodoret, who was familiar with the *Diatessaron*, that this was a heretical composition.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Ephræmi Syri, Rabbulæ. . . Opera Selecta*, ed. Overbeck, Oxford, 1865, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> Burkitt, *St. Ephraim’s Quotations from the Gospels, Texts and Studies*, VII. 2, pp. v-vii.

<sup>4</sup> Overbeck, *l.c.* 172.

<sup>5</sup> *St. Ephraim’s Quotations from the Gospels, Studia Biblica*, III. pp. 105-138, 1891.

<sup>6</sup> Woods, *l.c.* pp. 107-108.

of the spurious works there only remained 8 quotations of *P* by St. Ephraim.<sup>1</sup> Burkitt further showed that Ephraim in reality used *T*,<sup>2</sup> and was three times as often in agreement with *C* and *S* as with *P*.<sup>3</sup> These discussions seemed to point to the conclusion that *P* could not be traced back further than the date of Rabbula, and that there was therefore an antecedent probability that the translation made by the latter really was our present *P*. Confirmation of this view was sought in the oft-repeated statement that *P* coincided in text with *Codex Alexandrinus*, with the later Uncial MSS., with the mass of the Cursive MSS., and with the text found in St. Chrysostom; in other words, with the text dubbed "Syrian" by Westcott and Hort on account of its presumed connection with Antioch and St. Chrysostom.

But Gwilliam<sup>4</sup> retorted that the dependence of *P* on *Codex Alexandrinus* was by no means proved, since out of 167 passages taken from Matt. i-xiv., no less than 65 supported *B* or *Codex Vaticanus*, viz. the "Neutral text," to which Westcott and Hort practically pinned their faith, while 108 (many of the passages contained more than one disputed point, hence the apparent discrepancy in numbers) supported the Traditional text. By the "Traditional text" is not meant the so-called *textus receptus* of the Elzevirs, but "the text which has been handed down to us by and in the Catholic Church, and which is contained in the mass of copies and is attested by ecclesiastical writers."<sup>5</sup> Gwilliam further pointed out that in 137 other passages in these same chapters *P* agreed neither with *B* nor with the Traditional text, but in the majority of these passages agreed either with *C* or with *S* or with both; while in many it agreed with certain Old-Latin MSS. or with a few Greek MSS.<sup>6</sup> In view of these facts Gwilliam was justified in maintaining that (a) sufficient proof of a revision of the Syriac N.T. had not been brought forward, due consideration being paid to the power and importance of the Syriac Church and to the

<sup>1</sup> Burkitt, *St. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospels, Texts and Studies*, VII. 2, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *L.c.*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Place of the Peshitto Version in the Apparatus Criticus of the Greek New Testament*, *Studia Biblica*, V. iii., 1903.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

effect such a revision must have had on the Church at large; (b) that whereas abundant traces of the pre-Hieronymian Latin text remained in the shape of Old-Latin MSS., no such traces of the pre-Rabbula text were to be found; (c) that while Jerome's Vulgate only found its way into favour by slow degrees, the supposed revision of the Syriac text, *viz.* *P*, exists in an immense number of MSS. of which some at least belong to the fifth century, *i.e.* to the period assigned to this supposed revision.<sup>1</sup> Gwilliam further pointed out that on the supposition that it could be shown that *P* represented Rabbula's revision in the early part of the fifth century, the only result would be a further canonization of *P*; for it is certain from the account of Rabbula's translation that he would have made it with care and from the best Greek MSS. available. But in that case *P* would represent a version practically as old as the Latin Vulgate, and one for our knowledge of which we have MSS. both older and more numerous than those of the Vulgate. It would also represent what Rabbula held to be the best Greek text then available. And that Greek text is by no means simply the Traditional text, nor does it agree with *B* and the Westcott and Hort groups; as we have seen, it stands alone in thirty-one places in Matt. i-xiv. Therefore Gwilliam draws the further conclusion: either these variants of *P* are found in the Cursive Greek MSS. or not. If they are not found there, then the Cursives are justly relegated to the background in the textual controversy; but if they are found scattered up and down in the mass of Cursives at our disposal, then we have no right to pin our faith simply to the great Uncials. Thus the value of *P* for the textual criticism of the Greek New Testament is immense, whether it belong to the second century or to the fourth, whether it be an original text or a revision.

While it must be acknowledged that Burkitt's argument in disproof of the statement that St. Ephraim was well acquainted with *P* is exceedingly strong, it must not be forgotten that he was compelled to allow that in the authentic works of that Father there were eight passages which showed a knowledge of *P*. But whether there are eight

<sup>1</sup> *A Syriac Biblical MS. of the Fifth Century*, Gwilliam, in *Studia Biblica*, I. p. 154.

passages or only one matters little. One single passage which betrays Ephraim's indubitable acquaintance with that version is sufficient to prove that *P* was not the result of a revision by Rabbula. Moreover, on the supposition that *P* really is due to Rabbula, how are we to explain the amazing gaps in the Canon of the Peshitta? By the opening of the fifth century the present Canon of N.T. was practically universally accepted. Yet *P* apparently never contained the Catholic Epistles.<sup>1</sup> If this is a fact it is an awkward one, for such an omission at the date of Rabbula's episcopate is well-nigh incredible. Thus, briefly, while there are certain *a priori* arguments for assigning *P* to a late date and regarding it as a revision, yet there are one or two considerations, *e.g.*, the deficiencies in the Canon and the fact that St. Ephraim has eight acknowledged quotations which betray an acquaintance with *P*, which must make us hesitate before accepting *P* as a fifth-century revision carried out by Rabbula.

Nor is this discussion one of purely academic interest. For if the early date of *P* as it now stands could be proved, then the whole critical edifice so laboriously raised by Westcott and Hort would come tumbling down. Since, if the true place of *P* be that assigned to it in the above scheme, then it will still be of first-rate importance, in view of the statements made by Gwilliam (see p. 111). But if the Peshitta is not really a late revision its importance is immensely enhanced; for then the unusual underlying Greek text to which it bears witness will not be merely the best Greek text known to Rabbula at the opening of the fifth century, but will represent the Greek text current among the Syriac-speaking Fathers two centuries earlier at least. It has been stated that the early date of the Peshitta is "the sheet-anchor" of the upholders of the Traditional text.<sup>2</sup> This is misleading if it is meant to imply that the disproof of its early date means the downfall of the Traditional text. That text does not depend on any one MS. or family of MSS. It depends on the concurrent testimony of a cloud of witnesses. If one of these proves a

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase was apparently coined by Sanday in the *Oxford Debate*, see Gwilliam, *Studia Biblica*, VII. 2, p. 1.

frail prop the system or theory does not come tumbling down like a house of cards ; it is only one of many props, and the others, the host of Cursive MSS., the later Uncials, the Fathers, etc., are well able to uphold it. The same cannot be said for the neutral type of text. It is dependent on one or two MSS., if these fail the results are disastrous.

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## II

### THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

#### A. The Old-Latin MSS. and their Classification.

The Vulgate MSS., their History and Classification.

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#### A. The Old-Latin MSS. and their Classification.

The origin of the Latin Bible has been discussed in vol. i., pp. 89-113, but certain points of special interest for the criticism of N.T. must be touched on here.

The Latin MSS. of N.T. may be divided into two classes : the Old-Latin, or pre-Hieronymian, versions, and the Vulgate, or Hieronymian, editions. The Old-Latin text of the *Gospels* has been preserved for us in a more or less fragmentary manner in the following MSS., which are distinguished by the small letters of the alphabet ; the Roman numerals signify the century to which they are probably to be assigned :



Cod. Vercellensis, *a*, iv. or v.<sup>1</sup>

Cod. Veronensis, *b*, v. or vi.<sup>2</sup>

Cod. Colbertinus, *c*, xiii.

Cod. Bezae, *d*, vi., *i.e.* the Latin text of the famous Cod. Cantabrigiensis, also known as Cod. Bezae.<sup>3</sup>

Cod. Palatinus, *e*, v.

Cod. Brixianus, *f*, vi.<sup>4</sup>

Cod. Bobbiensis, *h*, v. (?).<sup>5</sup>

The *Acts of the Apostles* are preserved in :

Cod. Laudianus, *e*, vi., *viz.* the Latin text of a bilingual MS. used by the Ven. Bede, also in various fragments.<sup>6</sup>

For *St. Paul's Epistles* we have :

Cod. Claromontanus, *d*, vi. (?), *viz.* the Latin text of this bilingual MS.<sup>7</sup>

The other bilingual MSS. for the Pauline Epistles are late in date, *e.g.* *Cods. Sangermanensis, Augiensis, Bærnierianus*, though they have their use.<sup>8</sup>

The importance of these MSS. of the O-L. is twofold : the rendering they give is sometimes illuminative ; and, of far greater importance, it is possible to discover the Greek text on which they are based. We have no MSS. of the Greek Testament earlier than the fourth century, though of course these same MSS. are derived from parent MSS. of a

<sup>1</sup> This Codex, as well as *Codices Veronensis, Brixianus*, and *Corbeiensis ii.*, was published by Bianchini under the title *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, a work reprinted by Migne, *P.L.* XII. 131-848. Card. Gasquet has recently re-edited *Cod. Vercellensis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> How far the Latin text of these MSS. has been assimilated to the accompanying Greek text is not certain, *cf.* Westcott and Hort, II. p. 82, and Miller's *Scrivener*, I. p. 176. An exceedingly handy edition of *Codex Bezae* was published by Scrivener, Cambridge, 1864, and can often be obtained.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf.* note 1. The text of *Brixianus* is given *in extenso* in the Oxford Vulgate beneath the Vulgate text, *Novum Testamentum D. N. J. C. sec. ed. S. Hieronymi*, ed. Wordsworth and White, Oxford, 1889-1898.

<sup>5</sup> This text has also been published by Wordsworth and Sanday, *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, II. Oxford, 1888.

<sup>6</sup> See Miller's *Scrivener*, I. 170, which should be consulted for further information touching the O-L. MSS.

<sup>7</sup> Miller's *ed.* of *Scrivener*, I. 173-6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, *l.c.* I. 177-188 ; Kennedy in *H.D.B.* III. 52.

much greater antiquity. The fact, then, that the O-L. version dates certainly from the second century A.D., and that we have MS. copies of it dating from the fifth century, and, like the great Greek Uncials, derived from still earlier copies, compels us, if we would arrive at sound conclusions regarding the primitive Greek text, to take into account the Greek text witnessed to by the Versions, whether Latin, Syriac, or Coptic.

In the case of the O-L. MSS., tabulation of the results arrived at shows us that they may be grouped in several "families," according to certain more or less clearly marked features, which appear in some and not in others. Westcott and Hort proposed three groups, or "families," of O-L. MSS., viz. the *African*, the *European* and the *Italian*.<sup>1</sup> Under the *African* group come such MSS. as Bobbiensis, *k*, and Palatinus, *e*, which present a text of a very independent character and agreeing with that found in the writings of St. Cyprian.<sup>2</sup> The European family embraces such *Codices* as *Veronensis*, *b*, and *Vercellensis*, *a*. The text in these MSS. approaches that found in the Vulgate of St. Jerome<sup>3</sup> and in the works of Novatian, St. Cyprian's contemporary at Rome. The *Italian* family includes such texts as that preserved in *Cod. Brixianus*, *f*, and in *Cod. Monacensis*, *g*. These *Italian* texts are thought to show signs of a revision of the existing Latin text so as to make it accord with the then prevalent Greek text.<sup>4</sup> It is termed *Italian* because it presents a type of text often found in St. Augustine and therefore thought to be identical with the "Itala" text of the Old Latin which he so eulogized.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The New Testament in Greek*, II. pp. 78-80.

<sup>2</sup> See Burkitt, *The Old Latin and the Itala, Texts and Studies*, IV. 3, 1896; *H.D.B.* III. 55, 60.

<sup>3</sup> Burkitt, *l.c.* p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Westcott and Hort, *l.c.* p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Burkitt has shown, *The Old Latin and the Itala, l.c.*, that whereas St. Augustine used an O-L. text in his earlier works, e.g. in his *Contra Faustum*, the Church of Hippo made use, after A.D. 400, of St. Jerome's Vulgate for the *Four Gospels* while retaining a Cyprianic text for *Acts*. This appears to have been the opinion of Sabatier as well. But when Burkitt argues that the "Itala" text which St. Augustine praises, *De Doctrina Christiana*, II. 22, is really St. Jerome's Vulgate, *l.c.* pp. 61-65, his conclusion, though seductive, seems somewhat wider than his premisses. It is hardly credible that Jerome's version could already have

Having once established this grouping, the question of the mutual relation subsisting between these different types of text becomes of primary importance. Wiseman held<sup>1</sup> that there was originally but one Latin version, and that its home was in Africa. Recent study of the question tends to confirm the first part of his conclusion, *viz.* that there was but one original version; but it is now maintained that its home is to be sought rather in Syria than in Africa, and that this text was variously affected as it passed on into Alexandria, Africa and Italy.<sup>2</sup>

As for the terminology employed by Westcott and Hort, it must be remarked that the terms *Italian* and *European* seem to overlap, and that there is no such hard and fast line of demarcation between these two families as between them and the *African* family.

It would be a mistake to regard the Latin MSS. as presenting phenomena apart. The differentiation of "families" in the Latin MSS. is but the first step; the next is to see how these "families" can be co-ordinated with the evidence afforded by other Versions and MSS.<sup>3</sup> This can be tested by particular "readings" common to them. Thus, while on the one hand in the African family, *k*, or *Cod. Bobbiensis*, shows a marked affinity with *Codex Bezae*, *D*, and with *Σ* and *B*, *Sinaiticus* and *Vaticanus*, on the other hand, *e*, or *Cod. Palatinus*, agrees indeed with *D* and *Σ*, but with *A*, or *Cod. Alexandrinus*, rather than with *Vaticanus*. But a much more satisfactory method of testing these affinities lies in the respective relation of these families to the well-known additions to the ordinary text, which are witnessed to by

won the title of "Itala"; indeed, if it had acquired any geographical title at all this would probably have been "Romana." Had Augustine been referring to Jerome's version, it is more probable that he would have made use of some such expression as in *De Doct. Christ.* IV. vii. (15), where he says that he does not quote the LXX. version of Amos vii. 14-15 "sed sicut ex hebræo in Latinum eloquium, presbytero Hieronymo utriusque linguæ perito interpretante, translata sunt." *P.L.* XXXIV. 96.

<sup>1</sup> *Two Letters on Some Parts of the Controversy concerning* 1 John. v. 7 in *The Catholic Magazine*, 1832-1833, reprinted in *Essays on Various Subjects*, 1853; cf. vol. i. *h.l.* pp. 90-91.

<sup>2</sup> Kennedy, *H.D.B.* III. 54, 56, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See Burkitt, *l.c.* pp. 11-14; Kennedy, *H.D.B.* III. 60.

certain MSS. and Versions. Thus, to take but four of these, we have in Matt. xvi. 2-3 a passage on which St. Jerome remarks: *Hoc in plerisque codicibus non habetur*;<sup>1</sup> in Luke xxii. 43-44, the sweat of blood; in John v. 3-4, the descent of the Angel; in vii. 53—viii. 11, the story of the woman taken in adultery. Now, while these passages are omitted by *B*, they are to be found as a general rule not only in the O-L. MSS., but also in the Old Syriac, and particularly in *Codex Bezae*, *D*, which is so remarkable, especially in *Acts*, for its long additions to the ordinary Greek text. Similarly there is a series of lesser additions which are not so familiar, *e.g.* in Mark ix. 24, “with tears,” ix. 29, “and fasting,” xiv. 68, “and the cock crew”; Luke ix. 54, “as Elias also did”; John iii. 13, “Who is in heaven.” It is remarkable that while the greater additions are supported in the main by the *African* family of O-L. MSS. as opposed to the *European* family, the converse is the case with these lesser additions—they find support in marked fashion in the *European* family as contrasted with the *African*.<sup>2</sup> Now the importance of these facts will be evident when we reflect on the antiquity of these Old Latin texts as well as of the Old Syriac, and of the famous *Codex Bezae*. If we are to adhere to the principles laid down by Westcott and Hort, we shall have to throw overboard all these “additions” on the ground that they are not endorsed by the great Greek Uncials *Σ* and *B*, or by the so-called “Neutral” text. But, as we have stated above, these O-L. and O-S. MSS. are exceedingly ancient, and derived from still earlier MSS. They afford evidence as ancient as that of the more famous Greek MSS. to the Greek text at an early date; their evidence cannot be neglected in any scientific inquiry.

## B. The Vulgate MSS. of the New Testament.

In the first volume of this work we gave a sketch of the history of St. Jerome’s work on the Latin text, pp. 91-96, and of the subsequent history of his edition, pp. 96-112.

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. in Matt., P.L. XXVI. 112.*

<sup>2</sup> For a tabulated list of these additions and the MSS. evidence for them see Burkitt, *l.c.* pp. 46-53.

As there stated, St. Jerome translated the proto-canonical Books of O.T. from Hebrew. But at an earlier period of his life he "corrected" the New Testament Latin version by the earliest MSS. of the Greek he could find.<sup>1</sup> This distinction he sets forth in his own account of himself and his works: "Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi: Vetus juxta Hebraicum transtuli."<sup>2</sup> But it is a remarkable fact that whereas he there speaks of the New *Testament*, in his *Preface* to Pope Damasus he only names the *Gospels* as thus "corrected." It is customary of course to speak of the entire New Testament as corrected by Jerome, but we have no proof whatsoever that this correction extended beyond the *Gospels* and possibly the *First Epistle to the Corinthians*. It is at any rate undeniable that the Latin text which he repeatedly repudiates in his *Commentaries* on the *Epistles* to the *Ephesians*, *Galatians*, *Titus* and *Philemon*, is that given in our present Clementine Vulgate; whereas in his *Commentary on Matthew* he uses, without condemning it, the same Latin text as that in the Clementine Vulgate.<sup>3</sup> Whether the above conclusion is proved or not, the fact remains that if we could be sure of having the text of the Latin Gospels as it left St. Jerome's hands we should have an invaluable witness to what St. Jerome held to be the best Greek text after his "Codicum Græcorum emendata collatione, sed veterum."<sup>4</sup>

But the difficulties in the way of arriving at St. Jerome's text as it left his hands are immense, especially in the case of the New Testament. His translation of O.T. superseded to a great extent the O.L. versions, though MSS. of these continued to be reproduced for several centuries. But his correction of N.T. still left a flavour of the O.L., and this led to the insertion by copyists of their reminiscences of that version; hence the speedy corruption of Jerome's text, to which Cassiodorus seems to refer when he urges his monks "ut . . . in codicibus emendatis jugi exercitatione

<sup>1</sup> *Præfatio ad Damasum*, P.L. XXIX. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *De Viris Illustr.* CXXXV., P.L. XXIII. 719.

<sup>3</sup> See a paper by the present writer in the *Irish Theological Quarterly* for October, 1914.

<sup>4</sup> *Præf. ad Damasum*, P.L. XXIX. 528.

meditentur."<sup>1</sup> Indeed Cassiodorus has left us a most interesting account of his endeavours to supply his monks with exact copies of Holy Scriptures and of Patristic Commentaries:

"Quos ego cunctos novem codices auctoritatis divinæ (*scil.* Holy Scripture) (ut senex potui) sub collatione priscorum codicum, amicis ante me legentibus, sedula lectione transivi . . . nec libros sacros temeraria præsumptione lacerarem."<sup>2</sup>

It is possible that in the famous *Codex Amiatinus* we have a tolerably faithful copy of Cassiodorus' work.<sup>3</sup>

We can trace the course of two distinct streams of Vulgate MSS. from Italy: those which went to Spain and those which went—owing to St. Augustine of Canterbury's mission—into England and into Ireland. It is tempting to associate the Spanish type of MSS. with that Lucinius who obtained copies of some portions of St. Jerome's translation of O.T., and who may well have had copies of his correction of N.T.<sup>4</sup> Nor did the flow of Bibles into the British Isles cease with St. Augustine. St. Benet Biscop and the Abbot Ceolfrid were most diligent in their search for the best available texts; to them we owe such MSS. as *Amiatinus* and the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, which were copied from MSS. brought from Italy by these patrons of learning. By a curious chance France was the country which ultimately profited. For the Irish missionaries who laboured on the Continent took with them copies of Bibles made in Irish *Scriptoria*, and at the same time Spanish texts came over the Pyrenees into France. The meeting-place for these MSS. may be said to be Tours. Here it was that in the

<sup>1</sup> *De Institutione Divinarum Literarum*, Præfatio, P.L. LXX. 1107; cf. XV. 1127 and 1130.

<sup>2</sup> *L.c.* Præf. 1109.

<sup>3</sup> See White, *H.D.B.* IV. 878; Chapman, *Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, Clarendon Press, 1908, p. 5, etc.

<sup>4</sup> St. Jerome, *Ep.* LXXI. 5; P.L. XXII. 671: "Opuscula mea . . . desiderare te dicis; ad describendum hominibus tuis dedi, et descripta vidi in chartaceis codicibus; ac frequenter admonui ut conferrent diligentius, et emendarent. . . . Unde si paragrammata repereris, vel minus aliqua descripta sunt, quæ sensum legentis impediant, non mihi debes imputare, sed tuis, et imperitiæ notariorum librariorumque incuriæ, qui scribunt quod non inveniunt, sed quod intelligunt, et dum alienos errores emendare nituntur, ostendunt suos."



eighth century Alcuin made his famous revision of the Latin text for Charlemagne, whence the *Alcuinian* type of text. At the same time Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans, 787-821, was occupied with a similar revision, whence the *Theodulfian* type of text.

The number of MSS. of the Vulgate is legion, over eight thousand are supposed to exist. Many of these are, of course, comparatively worthless and late; but there remains a residue of MSS. which are priceless as presenting evidence for an underlying Greek text, and this evidence must be taken into account if we would arrive at a knowledge of the primitive text of N.T. In Wordsworth and White's *Oxford Vulgate*<sup>1</sup> some twenty-nine MSS. are used; in White's *Editio Minor*<sup>2</sup> of the same work nine MSS. form the basis. A brief account of some of the better known amongst these will prove useful.

### 1. The Italian type of Vulgate Text:

*Codex Fuldensis*. This Codex, preserved at Fulda, is of extraordinary interest. On the fifteenth or sixteenth-century binding is inscribed the legend: *Sanctus Bonifacius præsentì libro functus est dum vixit*,<sup>3</sup> and a gloss in an Anglo-Saxon hand on the *Epistle of St. James* is traditionally said to be in the handwriting of St. Boniface.<sup>4</sup> The text is a good Vulgate one, but in the Gospels we have a *Diatessaron*, or harmony. The Codex has a *Preface* by St. Victor of Capua, Bishop of that See from A.D. 541-554; in this *Preface* Victor tells us that he had stumbled on a volume containing *unum ex quatuor Evangelium compositum*, and that after examination he came to the conclusion that it was a copy, apparently in a Greek dress, of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.<sup>5</sup> He does not tell us that he translated it into Latin, though this may be implied in one passage. Two notes by Victor in the Codex show that he read it through twice, for these notes are dated April 19, 546, and April 12, 547.<sup>6</sup> On the supposition that Victor was not content merely to copy his "find," but desired to present it in a Latin dress, it would seem that he marked in a Vulgate text the passages used by Tatian, and

<sup>1</sup> *Novum Testamentum D.N.J.C. Latine, Quatuor Evangelia*, Oxford, 1889-1898.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem., Editio Minor*, Oxford, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> Chapman, O.S.B., *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels*, Clarendon Press, 1908, p. 157.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> As a matter of fact Victor writes *Diapente* instead of *Diatessaron*. See the note in Migne, *P.L.* LXVIII. 253, where the whole text of this *Preface* is given as well as the *Harmony of the Gospels*.

<sup>6</sup> Chapman, *l.c.* p. 30 and p. 78.

thus reconstructed according to the Vulgate Latin a Latin version of Tatian's *Harmony*.<sup>1</sup> In the *Epistles of St. Paul* the text of *Fuldensis* is Old Latin.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that the original MS. was brought from Italy to Northumbria by St. Benet Biscop, and thence to Fulda by St. Boniface.<sup>3</sup> From the point of view of textual criticism, the main interest of all this lies in the recovery of a Vulgate text dating hardly more than a hundred years after St. Jerome's death.

*The Harley Gospels*, vi. or vii., Z. This MS. was stolen from the Royal Library at Paris, and passed into the possession of Harley, Earl of Oxford, thence to the British Museum.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. The Spanish texts :

*Codex Cavensis*, ix., C., see Vol. I., p. 112.

*Codex Toletanus*, viii. (?), T., see Vol. I., p. 112.

*Codex Gothicus Legionensis*, x. This was collated for the Sixtine revision; the order of the Books of N.T. is peculiar, viz. *Gospels, St. Paul, Catholic Epistles, Acts, Apocalypse*.<sup>5</sup>

## 3. Italian MSS. transcribed in England :

*Codex Amiatinus*, vii. or beginning of viii., A. This MS. was written at Wearmouth or Jarrow, see Vol. I., p. 112. In the Gospels especially it has a very pure Vulgate text, which has served as practically the base of the *Oxford Vulgate*, as it presumably will also do for the revised Benedictine Vulgate Gospels when they are published.<sup>6</sup>

*The Stonyhurst St. John*, vii., S. This MS. is said to have been found in the coffin of St. Cuthbert, and was preserved in Durham Cathedral till the time of Henry VIII. ; it closely resembles *Amiatinus*.<sup>7</sup>

*The Lindisfarne Gospels*, vii. or viii., Y. This MS. was written by Eadfrith, Bishop of Lindisfarne, A.D. 698-721 ; its intimate connection with Naples has been worked out by Dom Chapman.<sup>8</sup> The text is that of *Amiatinus*.

*The Corpus Christi College Gospels*, vii., X. This MS. originally belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury. According to a doubtful tradition it formed one of the MSS. sent over to St. Augustine by St. Gregory the Great. Its text was early corrected on the model of *Amiatinus*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chapman, *l.c.* pp. 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> *L.c.* p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> *L.c.* pp. 157 and 188.

<sup>4</sup> Miller's *Scrivener*, II. p. 76, No. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *L.c.* II. p. 72, No. 40.

<sup>6</sup> See a careful study of this MS. by White in *Studia Biblica*, II., 1890. The text was published separately by Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum ex celeberrimo Codice Amiatino omnium et Antiquissimo et Præstantissimo*, Leipsic, 1850 ; this edition can often be picked up.

<sup>7</sup> Chapman, *l.c.* p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *L.c.* pp. 8-14.

<sup>9</sup> White in *H.D.B.* IV. 887.

#### 4. Irish and Anglo-Saxon MSS. :

*The Book of Armagh*, ix., *D*, has a text like *Amiatinus*; it is used in the *Editio Minor* by White.

*The Book of Kells*, vii. or viii., *Q*; similar to the preceding, and like *Amiatinus*.

*The Lichfield Gospels*, vii-viii., *L*; originally at Llandaff, but brought to Lichfield in the tenth century.

*The Rushworth Gospels*, ix., *R*, with an interlinear Anglo-Saxon version.

*The Egerton Gospels*, ix., *E*, from Marmoutier, yet an Irish text.

#### 5. MSS. written on the Continent but by Irish Scribes :

*The Echternach Gospels*, viii. (?), *Ɔ*. This MS. has an inscription stating that in A.D. 558 the copyist corrected his work by a MS. *de Bibliotheca Eugipi præsbyteri quem ferunt fuisse sancti Hieronymi*. But the MS. is at least two centuries later than this date. Eugipius is undoubtedly the well-known Abbot of Luculanum, near Naples, who lived in the first half of the sixth century. The note must, then, refer to the original MS. which the scribe copied. Chapman has given substantial reasons for thinking that it was Cassiodorus himself who penned the note.<sup>1</sup> This famous Senator was a cotemporary of St. Benedict and lived throughout practically the whole of the sixth century. Chapman further adduces arguments to show that the archetype of *Cod. Amiatinus* probably had this note, and that *Amiatinus* itself represents the text so diligently preserved by Cassiodorus.<sup>2</sup>

*Codex Sangermanensis*, ix., *G*. This MS. has a very mixed text, combining the characteristics of various families of MSS. The text in *Matt.* is Old Latin.<sup>3</sup>

#### 6. Texts of the Alcuinian type :

*Codex Vallicellanus*, see Vol. I. p. 112; perhaps the best specimen of Alcuin's revision.

*Codex at San Paolo fuori muri, Rome*, ix.; very similar to the foregoing.

#### 7. Texts of the Theodulfian type :

*The Theodulfian Bible*, ix., *Θ*, and a Codex preserved at Puy, viii. or ix., may have both been written at the order of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chapman, *l.c.* p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *L.c.*

<sup>3</sup> Scrivener-Miller, II. 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 70, Nos. 18 and 24.

## III

## THE COPTIC VERSIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

## A. The Coptic Dialects and Versions.

## B. Their Date and Critical Value.

## A. The Coptic Dialects and Versions.

Coptic is the lineal descendant of the Egyptian language; indeed its name “Coptic” is but a corruption of the Greek Αἴγυπτος. It makes use of the Greek alphabet, with the addition of five letters modified from the Demotic form of the Egyptian script.

Till recent years it was the custom to speak simply of the Coptic version; we now know that there are at least three distinct versions in three different dialects, *viz.* Bohairic, Sahidic, and Fayoumic. Athanasius, Bishop of Kos in the eleventh century, published an Arabic-Coptic Grammar, in which he pointed out the existence of three dialects, *viz.* the Sahidic, Bohairic, and Bashmuric. The *Sahidic* was spoken in Upper Egypt in the Theban district, whence the alternative name of “Thebaic” for the Sahidic version; the *Bohairic* belonged to Lower Egypt, or the district of Memphis, whence also the alternative title “Memphitic” for the Bohairic version; but this is a misleading title, since the third dialect we possess (not Athanasius’ “Bashmuric,” of which we have practically no remains) is the *Fayoumic*, or *Middle Egyptian*, which to the North might overlap with the Memphitic or Bohairic.

It is claimed that of these three dialects the Sahidic is the elder and the source of the other two. The Bohairic is the more literary and polished of the three, the other two being more popular. To these three dialects we must now add a fourth, the “Akhmimic,” so called from the papyri discovered at Akhmim in 1884 and written in a Coptic dialect, differing from the other three.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hyvernât, *R.B.*, 1897, pp. 431, 568. According to Hyvernât, the five known dialects are the Bohairic, Sahidic, Akhmimic, Middle-Egyptian, and Fayoumic; the Sahidic absorbed the Akhmimic, Middle-Egyptian, and probably also the Fayoumic, but in its turn was displaced by the Bohairic, *l.c.* p. 432.

The *Bohairic* or "*Memphitic*" Version. Many MSS. of this version are known. No one MS. contains the entire Bible,<sup>1</sup> but MSS. of the *Gospels*, *Acts*, and *Epistles* are very numerous.<sup>2</sup> According to Headlam,<sup>3</sup> the Bohairic version contained all the Canonical Books of N.T., though he maintains that the *Apocalypse* never formed an integral part of the Canon, for it is always "distinguished from them (the other Books) in some marked way"; if this be so, the number of MSS. of the *Apocalypse* which have been preserved is remarkable.<sup>4</sup> As for the Greek text underlying the Bohairic version, it is claimed that it is akin to the text preserved in *B* and in Westcott and Hort's "Neutral" text.<sup>5</sup>

The *Sahidic* or "*Theban*" Version has been less well preserved than the foregoing; in recent years the copious fragments<sup>6</sup> have been edited by Balestri.

The *Akhmimic* Version has been preserved in only a small number of fragments. Of the N.T. we have only *Jude* 17-20, *James* iv. 12-13; judgment upon this version must consequently be reserved.<sup>7</sup>

The *Fayoumic* and *Middle-Egyptian* Versions are, according to Hyvernat, to be identified, though Headlam would distinguish them.<sup>8</sup> This version forms a group by itself, and is based upon a Greek text different from that employed for the Sahidic version.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hyvernat, *R.B.*, 1897, p. 540.

<sup>2</sup> *L.c.* pp. 544-547; cf. *Scrivener-Miller*, II. pp. 110-123. We shall form some notion of the rapidity of our growth in knowledge of the Coptic Versions if we note that in 1894 (the date of publication of Miller's *ed.* of *Scrivener's Introduction*) 36 MSS. of the Coptic (Bohairic) *Gospels* are given, 18 of *Acts* and *Epistles*, and 10 of the *Apocalypse*. In 1897 Hyvernat enumerates 64 MSS. of the *Gospels*, 29 of *Acts* and *Epistles*, 12 of the *Apocalypse*.

<sup>3</sup> *Scrivener-Miller*, II. 123.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note 3.

<sup>5</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> Lists of large fragments of all the Books of the Bible except 1-2 *Paralip.*, *Judith*, *Malachi*, the *Epistle to Titus*, and the *Epistle of St. James*, are given by Hyvernat, *R.B.*, 1897, pp. 553-565.

<sup>7</sup> *R.B.* October, 1897, p. 569.

<sup>8</sup> *Scrivener-Miller*, II. pp. 141-142; cf. Hyvernat, *R.B. l.c.* p. 565

<sup>9</sup> Hyvernat, *R.B.* January, 1897, p. 74.

## B. The Date and Critical Value of these Versions.

There can be no doubt that the spread of Christianity in Egypt was both immediate and far-reaching in extent as well as in numbers. Alexandria was the See of St. Mark, and the Thebaid became the home of countless monks at a very early period. St. Antony, *circa* 250-356 A.D., was well instructed in Holy Scripture; he was converted by hearing the Gospel read in Church,<sup>1</sup> and he insisted on his monks diligently studying the Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> Yet he himself knew no language save his native Coptic, and the same seems to have been the case with most of his contemporaries and disciples.<sup>3</sup> This early spread of Christianity, combined with ignorance of the Greek tongue, affords the soundest argument for the early existence of Coptic versions of the Bible. According to Hyvernat, the Sahidic version dates from the opening of the third century, and the Bohairic from an even earlier period.<sup>4</sup> These two versions were, as already stated, derived from different types of Greek MSS.; thus the Bohairic is said to show kinship with the oldest Greek MSS., and it is claimed that its original text did not contain the present “Western” readings which make it conform to the Traditional text.<sup>5</sup> The Sahidic version is thought to present a less pure text than the Bohairic; it is unlike the Traditional text, yet has many readings characteristic of the second century.<sup>6</sup> The Greek text underlying it is held to be that of *Codex Bezae* and of *Codex Ephræmi rescriptus*, C, in the Gospels; while in the Epistles it represents rather *Codex Alexandrinus* and *Codex Ephræmi* than *Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See especially the references given in *Scrivener-Miller*, II. pp. 95-100; also by Forbes Robinson, *H.D.B. s.v. Egyptian Versions*, I. pp. 670-671.

<sup>2</sup> *L.c.*

<sup>3</sup> *L.c.*

<sup>4</sup> Hyvernat, *R.E.* January, 1897, p. 70. It should be borne in mind that these critics are giving the minimum; it is quite probable that these versions should be referred to an even earlier period.

<sup>5</sup> *L.c.*

<sup>6</sup> *L.c.* p. 73; cf. Lightfoot in *Scrivener-Miller*, II. p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> Hyvernat, *l.c.* pp. 70-71.



One peculiar feature of the Coptic language makes these versions of great value in textual criticism. Not only does the language employ the Greek alphabet, but it has also taken over many Greek prepositions and conjunctions; it even uses alternately these and their Coptic equivalents. Hence the versions adhere somewhat slavishly to the original, so that the process of reconstruction of their underlying Greek text is rendered sensibly easier.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lightfoot in *Scrivener-Miller*, II. pp. 124-125; cf. Hyvernât, *R.B.* January, 1897, p. 68.

## CHAPTER IX

### TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

- A. The Function of Textual Criticism.
- B. The Materials and the Use to be made of them.
  - i. Early Corruption of the Text.
  - ii. Early Existence of a Different Type of Text.
  - iii. Criticism of the Text by the Early Fathers.
- C. The Commencement of Scientific Textual Criticism.
  - i. The Textus Receptus.
  - ii. The Traditional Text.
- D. The Second Phase in Textual Criticism : Study of the Materials.
- E. The Third Phase in Textual Criticism : the Schools of Critics.
  - i. Westcott and Hort.
  - ii. Von Soden.
  - iii. C'ark.
- F. Some Canons of Textual Criticism.

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#### A. The Function of Textual Criticism.

WHAT proof have we that our present printed Greek Testament faithfully represents the original autographs? This is the problem towards the solution of which all study of the actual text of the New Testament is directed. The importance of such study cannot be over-estimated. If, for

example, it could be proved that little faith is to be attached to the present Hebrew text of Genesis where the various names for the Deity are concerned, it would follow that the whole system of Pentateuchal documents based on the varying use of different names for God would come tumbling down.<sup>1</sup> It may be said at once that though the total number of variant readings in the immense mass of MSS. of N.T. is legion, yet they do not affect what we may term the "substance" of the text, nor does any doctrine stand or fall in accordance with a particular reading of some isolated text. Thus the fact that in 1 Tim. iii. 16 we probably ought not to read "*God* was manifested in the flesh" but "*who* was manifested in the flesh," will not destroy the doctrine of the incarnation since this same doctrine is proved by countless other passages. At the same time it is true that many doctrinal points receive further illumination from textual variants, as for instance the text just quoted; moreover, historical details of real value may depend on a variant, *e.g.* those supplied by *Codex Bezae*, particularly in Acts; the presence or absence, too, of the definite article in John v. 1 may determine whether there were three or four Passovers during Christ's public ministry.

## B. The Materials and the Use to be made of them.

The materials for testing our text of N.T. are immense, and for these few and comparatively brief Books there exists a greater wealth of MS. and other authority than for any other set of books in the world. The fact that so much has been written on the subject and that such violent controversies have been waged has had the effect of making people fancy that the text of N.T. is very uncertain and precarious. Nothing could be further from the truth. In a previous chapter we saw something of the material which exists in MS. form, *viz.* the so-called Uncial<sup>2</sup> and cursive

<sup>1</sup> See the controversy conducted by Wiener in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* during the last few years.

<sup>2</sup> This term "Uncial" is probably derived from St. Jerome's words when speaking of his labours in translating the Book of Job and "rescuing it from the dunghill where, among the Latins, it had so long lain." "Let those who will," he says, "keep their old books, whether inscribed on purple vellum or decked out with gold and silver or written

MSS., as well as the Versions of the original text, and we were—apropos of the Syriac Versions—introduced to some of the complicated problems which have emerged from a study of these. But for the reconstruction of the Greek text of N.T. we have, in addition to these MSS. and Versions, the abundant citations of the text in the voluminous writings of the Fathers; from more than one of the Fathers it might be possible to reconstruct almost the entire Bible. Thus we have a threefold source for the text—the MSS., the Versions and the Fathers; each serves as a corrective to the other, and our task is to reconstruct the original text from the consentient witness of all three sources of information. Thus, to take an example, it is not enough to say that such and such a MS. gives such and such a reading, *e.g.* that *B* has in 1 Cor. xiii. 5 “charity seeketh not what is *not* her own,” or in ver. 3 “if I should give my body *that I may glory*” instead of “*to be burned*.”<sup>1</sup> The evidence of an isolated MS. or even group of MSS., however venerable, can never avail against “a cloud of witnesses.” Great value is naturally attributed to MS. evidence, yet it is well to reflect that though some of our Greek MSS. date from the fourth century A.D., that still leaves a gap of some three hundred years between them and the original autographs. Further, the early Versions were made from MSS. which were even then considered venerable; compared to them our most ancient MSS. were but children.<sup>2</sup> And while it is justly argued that though our most ancient MSS. were indeed copied in the fourth century, yet the exemplar used by those fourth-century copyists must itself have been exceedingly ancient, still the plain fact remains that we do not now possess that exemplar and can only guess at it, while the evidence of a version is concrete and actual. This does not mean, of course, that the evidence of

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in letters an inch long (uncialibus) as they say; these things are burdens rather than books! But let them leave me and mine to keep our poor sheets, not so much beautiful books as corrected ones!” *Præf. in Job, P.L. XXVIII.* 1083.

<sup>1</sup> Yet see margin of Revised Version.

<sup>2</sup> Thus St. Jerome tells Pope Damasus that he sends him a Latin translation of the Four Gospels “corrected by comparison with Greek MSS. which, moreover, are ancient.” *P.L. XXIX.* 528.

Versions should override that of MSS. For the evidence of a Version depends upon the degree of certainty with which we can detect the Greek text which underlies it, and, except in the case of the Coptic Versions,<sup>1</sup> this is by no means an easy task. The same remarks apply with perhaps greater force to the citations occurring in the writings of the early Fathers, *i.e.* the Apostolic Fathers, St. Justin, St. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and Origen; the last-named, Origen, lived at least one hundred years previous to the copying of our earliest MS. The difficulty of course lies in the way the Fathers quote: often from memory, often, too, the same passage in a slightly different form. And this difficulty is enhanced by the possibility that in our present editions of their works the citations of Holy Scripture may have been adapted to the text current at the date the edition was made.<sup>2</sup> One thing is certain from the Fathers, namely that the text of the Bible was liable to a very large amount of corruption. As this is an important point from more than one aspect it will be as well to look into it somewhat closely.

i. **The Corruption of the Biblical Text.**—The extent of this corruption and the early date at which it began is at first a source of surprise to students. The Fathers indicate various causes which gave rise to it:

(a) The Jews corrupted the Old Testament; with some of the Fathers this is a commonplace: St. Justin gives passages from Esdras and Jeremias which have been, according to him, cut out,<sup>3</sup> he also instances the famous case of the clause “*Dominus regnavit a ligno*” in Ps. xcv., and accuses the Jews of having deliberately removed the words *a ligno*.<sup>4</sup> The following particularly interesting example is given twice by St. Irenæus and once by St. Justin. Irenæus quotes as from Isaias the words, “And the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, remembered His dead who had slept in the land of burial, and He descended to

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> We say “possibility” because though it is constantly stated as a fact we have never seen any proof alleged; indeed we think that investigation would prove that it was no more than a hypothesis which owing to constant repetition has passed into current belief.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* LXXII., P.G. VI. 643.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* LXXIII-IV.

preach to them the salvation He had wrought, that they might be saved.”<sup>1</sup> He gives the same passage again later on<sup>2</sup> but this time as from Jeremias as St. Justin also gives it.<sup>3</sup>

(b) Heretics also corrupted the text: the Christians, says Origen, are accused of doing this, but he answers that he knows of none who have done so save Marcion, the Valentinians and the followers of Lucanus.<sup>4</sup>

(c) Copyists also did their work badly: they made mistakes in Proper Names which they did not understand, so that Origen finds it necessary to warn us that the Book of Josue is particularly faulty in this respect.<sup>5</sup> Copyists also confused names, e.g. in writing *Bethany* for *Bethabara* according to Origen,<sup>6</sup> in assigning the *Magnificat* to Elizabeth,<sup>7</sup> or in making Barabbas' full name to be Jesus-Barabbas.<sup>8</sup> Their ignorance of Hebrew, too, often led them into error: “Since the Gospels were often transcribed by Greeks ignorant of the dialect I think they have been corrupted here (Matt. xxi. 8) from the quotation of the Psalm.”<sup>9</sup> The eye of the transcriber was sometimes apt to pass from where a word occurred the first time to the place where it occurred a second time; this is the error known as *homoioteleuton*, and St. Jerome indicates an instance of it in Matt. xii. 20 where, so he says, a clause in the quotation from Isaias has been omitted.<sup>10</sup> Marginal readings too have crept into the text, as Origen indicates vaguely more than once.<sup>11</sup> The same critic sums up the iniquities of the copyists by saying: “As a matter of fact, whether by reason of the impious audacity of some would-be amenders of Scripture, or because some, while correcting, add or remove passages at their discretion, there exists at present a

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. xx. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* IV. xxii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial.* LXXIV., cf. CXX., *P.G.* VI. 646 and 755.

<sup>4</sup> *Contra Celsum* II. 27; cf. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* I. xxvii. 4, III. xii. 12 and xvi. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Tom.* VI. 24 in *Joann.* *P.G.* XIV. 271.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 270.

<sup>7</sup> *Hom.* VI. in *Lucam*, *P.G.* XIII. 1817.

<sup>8</sup> *Series Commentat.* in *Matth.* 33, *P.G.* XIII. 1645.

<sup>9</sup> *Tom.* XVI. in *Matth.*, *P.G.* XIII. 1439.

<sup>10</sup> “Inter *judicium* et *judicium* media, scriptoris errore, sublata sunt,” on Isaias xlii, *P.L.* XXIV. 422.

<sup>11</sup> *Tom.* XV. 14 in *Matth.*, *P.G.* XIII. 1290-1.



great discrepancy in the copies."<sup>1</sup> Origen even remarks with apparent surprise the fact that the copies of Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus have not yet been corrupted—as though this was an extraordinary thing.<sup>2</sup> The classical instance, however, of early corruption of the text with prompt denunciation of it is to be found in St. Irenæus' remarks about "the number of the Beast" in the Apocalypse: "Since, then," he says, "in all the most approved and ancient copies the number is thus given (*viz.* 666); since, too, those who saw John face to face give the same testimony; since, again, reason itself shows that the 'number of the Beast' . . . is 666 . . . I cannot understand how some have erred through following their own private views," namely by reading 606.<sup>3</sup>

ii. **Early Existence of a Different Type of Text.**—So much for scribal error or heretical mutilations. But there remains a much more fruitful and interesting cause of differences of reading in the Greek Testament, namely the unquestionable existence of a type of text which was very different from our present printed text, and which is witnessed to by quite the earliest Fathers. Thus, to take St. Irenæus alone and in a few passages chosen at random, we find him constantly in agreement with readings which constitute the distinctive characteristic of *Codex Beza* or *D*, though it has been the custom till recent years to regard this *Codex* as merely a repository for so-called erratic readings. For example in Matt. xxv. 41 he reads with *D* and the Old Latin "quem preparavit Pater Meus" instead of "qui paratus est."<sup>4</sup> In Acts iii. 13 he adds with *D* "in

<sup>1</sup> *Tom.* XV. 14 in *Matth.*, *P.G.* XIII. 1294.

<sup>2</sup> *Tom.* XVI. 24 in *Joann.*, *P.G.* XIV. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Hær.* V. xxx. 1, *P.G.* VII. 1203. Eusebius has preserved for us a note appended by St. Irenæus to his *Ogdoad* in which he says: "I adjure thee who mayst copy this book . . . to compare what thou shalt write and to correct it carefully by this manuscript, and also to write this adjuration and place it in your copy," *H.E.* V. xx. 2; Eusebius also tells us elsewhere, IV. xxiii. 1, how the Epistles of Denis of Corinth had been corrupted. He also gives a long extract from Artemon, who complains of the fashion in which certain heretics had corrupted the Scriptures: "If anyone," he says, "will collect their respective copies and compare them one with another, he will find that they differ greatly," *H.E.* V. xxviii. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* III. xxiii. 3. 962.

judicium”;<sup>1</sup> in Acts xv. 20 and 29 he omits with *D* “et suffocatis”;<sup>2</sup> in Acts xx. 25 he supports *D* and many others in reading “the Church of the *Lord*” rather than “of God.”<sup>3</sup> In very many places, too, Irenæus supports the present Vulgate text against the Greek, *e.g.* in reading “*Spiritu Sancto . . . patris nostri*” in Acts iv. 24;<sup>4</sup> similarly in 2 John 7 he reads “*exierunt*” with the Vulgate;<sup>5</sup> in Rom. v. 6 he has apparently “*ut quid*” with the Vulgate.<sup>6</sup> These instances might be multiplied indefinitely; they serve to show that many readings which critics have been wont to disregard, but which still find a place—now in the Vulgate, now in the Old Latin or Old Syriac, and especially in *D*—were the readings accepted by Irenæus. One remarkable reading of his must not be passed over: in Gal. ii. 5 he reads “to whom we yielded by subjection,” thus omitting the negative;<sup>7</sup> that this really was the reading of the Old Latin seems probable from the fact that Tertullian<sup>8</sup> has the same reading, and, after quoting the passage with the negative as being Marcion’s reading of it, he adds—arguing from reason—that this reading—*viz.* with the negative—is a “*vitiatio Scripturæ*”; *D* has the negative, but St. Jerome<sup>9</sup> seems to say that while the Greek copies of his day retained it the Latin copies omitted it; for he says: “We must, then, either read with the Greek copies ‘to whom—not even for an hour did we yield in subjection’ . . . or, if we prefer to trust the Latin copies, then . . .”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hæv.* xii. 3, 894-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III. xii. 14, *P.G.* VII. 908.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 2, 915.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xii. 5, 897.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xvi. 8, 927.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 9, 928.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* xiii. 3, 912.

<sup>8</sup> *Adv. Marcionem* IV. 3, *P.L.* 473.

<sup>9</sup> On Gal. ii. 5, *P.L.* XXVI. 334; the whole passage should be studied as a sample of the way in which St. Jerome treated a variant and of the principles he thought fit to apply.

<sup>10</sup> As an instance of the care with which the Fathers have to be used in questions of Textual Criticism we may note the curiously persistent occurrence of the quotation “Be ye careful money-changers,” *probati trapezitæ*. Without giving all the references it will be sufficient to note that it is cited by Greek as well as Latin Fathers; among the Greeks in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, II. 36; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I. 28; Origen, *Tom.* XIX. 2 in *Joann.* XII. 2, and XVII. 21 in *Matth.* etc.; Eusebius, *H.E.* VII. vii. 3, where it is a quotation given by Denis of Alexandria; St. Epiphanius, *Hæv.* XLIV. 2; St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* VI.; St. Athanasius, *De Sent. Dionysii*, IX.; St. Basil on *Isaias* i. and *Prol.* on the *Psalms*; while among the Latins we

### iii. Criticism of the Text by the Early Fathers.—

It is worth noting here that while the Fathers felt that the Greek text of N.T. was to be preferred—inasmuch as it was the language in which all the Books save St. Matthew's Gospel were written, and inasmuch too as the Latin copies were full of contradictory readings,<sup>1</sup> they yet did not pin their faith unswervingly to a reading simply because it was to be found in the Greek: just as we have seen above that St. Irenæus had a Greek text which differed notably from ours. This is particularly noticeable in St. Augustine, who when treating of doctrinal passages which seem to be contradictory says:

"Since both statements can be produced from the Canonical Epistles of St. Paul, that is from those Epistles which are really his, and since we cannot say that the text is faulty inasmuch as all the corrected Latin copies so have it, nor that the translator has fallen into error inasmuch as all the corrected Greek copies so have it, it remains that you do not understand, and also that I am rightly asked how it is that the passages are not in contradiction with one another but agree in one and the same rule of sound faith."<sup>2</sup>

In the course of the same disputation he lays down principles of textual criticism which should be noted:

"When your opponent says 'prove it,' you do not appeal to more exact copies nor to the authority of a number of manuscripts, nor to ancient ones, nor to the original language whence the translation was

have Victor of Capua, *Pref. in Evangelicas Harmonias Ammonii*, iv.; St. Jerome repeatedly, e.g. on Philemon 5, on Ephes. iv. 31, *Ep.* CXIX. 11; St. Ambrose, *Lib. I. in Lucam*; Cassian, *Collat.* I. 20, etc. Resch in his *Agrapha or Unwritten Sayings* states that this quotation occurs sixty-nine times in the Fathers. What is so remarkable is that it is given by them as "Scripture" as "in the Gospel" as "the word of Christ," etc. Yet Victor of Capua, who quotes it in his *Preface to a Harmony of the Gospels*, must have known perfectly well that it was not in our written Gospels; the same of course applies to Origen who yet calls it "Scripture," *Tom.* XVII. 31 in *Matth.* P.G. XIII. 1574.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Pref. ad Damasum*, P.L. XXIX. 526-7: "If we are told to trust the Latin copies, then let them tell us which ones; for there are almost as many differing copies as there are manuscripts. If on the other hand we have to gather the truth from many sources, then why not—by reverting to the Greek original—correct what has been badly rendered by poor translators or still more perversely emended by unskilled and presumptuous persons, or added or changed by nodding copyists?"

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XI. 6, P.L. XLII. 249.

made; but you say 'I prove this passage is Paul's, and this other is not his because the former makes for my view while the latter does not.' Are you then the rule of truth? Is whatever does not make for you therefore false? . . . You can see in a question like this what weight is to be attached to the authority of the Catholic Church, for it is firmly based upon the series of Bishops succeeding one another down to this day in the very Sees founded by the Apostles, as also upon the harmonious agreement of so many people. Consequently, whenever question arises touching the trustworthiness of copies—as is the case sometimes, though only in a few instances, and such variants are perfectly well known to students of Holy Scripture—then we have to base our decision either upon manuscripts derived from other districts whence the doctrine in question came to us, or—if the manuscripts from there still differ among themselves—then the witness of the many must prevail over that of the few, or the older must be preferred to the more recent; and if there is still room for doubt, then the original language from which the translation was made must be consulted. This is the method followed by those who are anxious to find a solution for things that trouble them in the Scriptures which rest upon such solid authority; for they seek instruction, not grounds for quarrelling."<sup>1</sup>

Elsewhere he says that more reliance is to be placed on the Greek text,<sup>2</sup> and in another place he suggests that a word in the Latin text is due to a wish to explain the Greek, and he adds: "if it is wanting in the Greek text then let it too be corrected—but who would dare do that?"<sup>3</sup> Lastly note St. Augustine's treatment of the famous instance in Matt. xxvii. 9 where a prophecy from Zacharias is attributed to Jeremias:

"We might say that we ought rather to rely on those copies which have not got the name *Jeremias* . . . and that those copies which have it are faulty. . . . Those who choose can accept this explanation, but the reason why it makes no appeal to me is first of all that many copies have the name *Jeremias*, and secondly that those who have made the most diligent study of the Gospel in the Greek texts say that they find that this name stands in the older Greek manuscripts. Further, there is no reason why this name should have been added with resulting corruption of the text, whereas the fact that this prophecy was not to be found in (the Book of) *Jeremias* is sufficient to explain how the name came to be removed from some copies; ignorance and audacity combined to remove it."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XI. 2, P.L. XLII. 246.

<sup>2</sup> *De Sermone Domini in monte*, I. xix. (58), P.L. XXXIV. 1259.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* II. xxii. (74), 1303.

<sup>4</sup> *De Consensu*, III. vii. (29), P.L. XXXIV. 1174-5.

It is somewhat exasperating in view of passages such as these—and they might be multiplied indefinitely—to be told that the Fathers were uncritical!

From what has been said certain facts will emerge: the corruption of the text was widespread though not “substantial” or radical; it was well known to the early Fathers who met it on principles which, especially in the case of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, were scientific; one of the most fruitful causes of variant readings lay in the existence at a very early period indeed of a type of text which, while it cannot claim the support of what we regard as the great Greek MSS. of N.T., yet appears to have been the text used by St. Irenæus and it finds affinity in the Old Latin and the Old Syriac Versions.

### C. The Commencement of Scientific Textual Criticism.

By degrees, as the Latin version superseded the Greek text, the confusion of the text—owing in great part to the prolonged use of the Old Latin version side by side with that made by St. Jerome—increased to a deplorable extent.<sup>1</sup> Hence the efforts made at different epochs to restore the Latin text to its primitive purity as far as possible. It was not, however, till the invention of printing that the science of Textual Criticism came into being. The year 1633 saw the publication of the second edition of the Elzevir Greek Testament and may be regarded as marking the close of the period during which the stereotyped printed Greek text was being formed. The appearance of this edition put a printed and handy Greek Testament into the hands of scholars, and from that date was inaugurated the critical investigation into the basis of this text. The next two hundred years saw the accumulation of a vast amount of textual evidence with the gradual realisation by scholars of the necessity of arranging MSS. and other evidence according to some genealogical system. The publication of Lachmann's first edition, based solely upon the evidence of the oldest MSS., Versions and Fathers, may be said to mark the opening of the period of real critical examination

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I. pp. 89-110, and this Vol. pp. 114-123.



of the sources. During this latter period various Schools of textual critics have come forward, but it may be safely said that none have as yet been able to claim the unanimous suffrages of scholars.

So much for a brief conspectus of the history of textual criticism. Taking some of the points in detail :

i. **The Textus Receptus** was the name given by the Elzevirs to their second edition of 1633 published at Leyden. In their *Preface* they speak of the text they publish as *textus ab omnibus receptus*. The history of this text will show how baseless was this ingenuous claim. For the Elzevirs did little more than republish the text published by Robert Etienne (Stephens) in 1550 at Paris. Now this was Stephen's third edition and was based almost entirely on Erasmus' fourth edition which he published in 1527 with assistance derived from the Complutensian edition of 1517 —only given to the world however in 1522. The basis then of this so-called *Textus Receptus* is Erasmus' fourth edition the critical value of which may be set down as nil. For Erasmus' manuscript authorities were few and of little critical value; moreover where he found these authorities at variance with the Vulgate he boldly re-translated the Latin into Greek and gave it to the world as the original Greek Testament! The Apocalypse suffered especially at his hands, particularly i. 15-20.<sup>1</sup>

ii. **The Traditional Text** is not to be confounded with the *Received Text* though this is too often done; for by the *Traditional Text* we understand the text which it is the aim of students of the textual problem to recover. It is true of course that the *Received Text* does represent a traditional text since it took over in all simplicity the Greek text known at the time. But we cannot identify the Received Text with the Traditional Text, neither do we repudiate the latter in rejecting the former.

#### D. The Second Phase in Textual Criticism: Study of the Materials.

The period which witnessed the accumulation of the immense mass of materials for arriving at the true text is chiefly remarkable for the amazing industry displayed by

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Scrivener-Miller*, II. 184, note.



editors of the Greek Testament. During the hundred years between the appearance of the so-called *Received Text* we have such editions as Walton's *Polyglot*, the fifth volume of which contained the New Testament (1657); then came Fell's edition of the Elzevir text (1675); next came the editions of Mill and Bentley (1707), both of these men worked on the heroic scale and it is we who have entered into their labours; in 1734 came Bengel's edition and to him we owe the first attempt at classifying the MSS. then known; this step marked an epoch, for it was rightly felt that until some such system was accepted we should still continue to count rather than weigh authorities. The eighteenth century was fruitful in laborious toilers and they proceeded on the lines suggested by Bengel. Wetstein in his edition of 1751-2 was the first to formulate the still existing system of numeration of MSS.; Semler in 1764 laid the foundations of the "family" arrangement of authorities which the subsequent labours of Westcott and Hort have made so familiar; Semler divided the known authorities into (a) an *Alexandrian* group which embraced Origen, the Syriac, Coptic and Ethiopic Versions, (b) an *Eastern* group, *i.e.* authorities hailing from Antioch and Constantinople, and (c) a *Western* group including the Latin Versions and Fathers. But the chief strides in this direction were made by Griesbach in his editions of 1774-7, 1796, and 1806. Griesbach may be claimed as the parent of our present grouping of families, for under the heading *Alexandrian* he placed the Uncials C, K, L and the Cursives 1, 13, 33, 69, 106 and 118, the Bohairic, Ethiopic, Armenian and Harcleian-Syriac Versions and Origen, Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius. Under the heading *Western* he placed *Codex Bezae*, D, the Latin versions and the Peshitta Syriac. Under the heading *Constantinopolitan* or *Eastern* he placed *Codex Alexandrinus*, A, as well as the later Uncials and Cursives; he apparently regarded this family as the outcome of the two former. The influence exerted by Griesbach was incalculable and persists to this day, perhaps he has not received as much recognition as he deserved.

Lachmann published his first and second editions in 1831 and 1842-1850, and in them he carried to a further point the principles advocated by Griesbach. Then came Tischendorf who published no less than eight editions of his

New Testament between 1841 and 1872. He was the Origen of these later days and might well be termed the "Adamantine" though only for the prodigious extent of his labours, not—as Origen was—for the irresistible character of his argumentation. For it must be confessed that his glorious discovery of *Codex Sinaiticus*, <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>, overwhelmed Tischendorf's critical judgment to such an extent that his eighth edition is almost a canonization of this MS. At the same time as Tischendorf Tregelles, who died in 1875, was publishing his valuable edition, but he has not met with such appreciation as he deserves. The year 1861 was marked by the appearance of a book which has done more to bring the science of Textual Criticism within the purview of the general student than any other, *viz.* Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. The author re-edited it in 1874 and again in 1883, and after his death it was re-edited by Miller in two volumes in 1894.

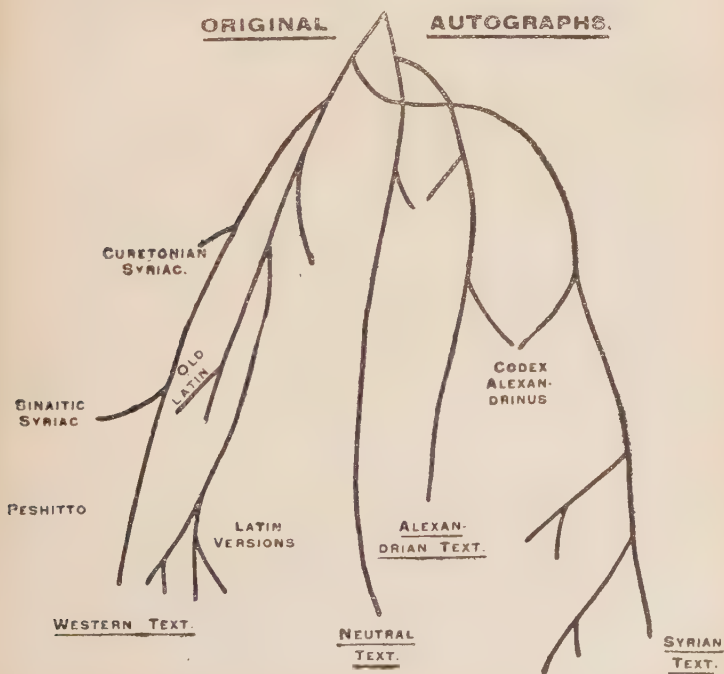
### E. The Third Phase in Textual Criticism: The Schools of Critics.

i. The laborious work thus done by the best intellects in England—and it should be noted that until recent years England has had the practical monopoly of work in this department—was but the preparation for the appearance in 1881 of the *Revised Version* of N.T. The principles adopted in the preparation of this version were—as far as textual questions went—practically those formulated by Westcott and Hort who were able to distribute to the members of the revision Committee advance-sheets of the second volume of their *New Testament in Greek*; in these they had formulated their views on the genesis of the Received Text as well as on the grouping of the evidence at our disposal. As these views have exercised a preponderating influence on the study of the text of N.T. they must be set forth in some detail.

As we have seen, it was early felt that MSS. must have a genealogy, and moreover that if a given MS. can be traced to some particular district it may well be expected to have affinity with Fathers of the Church from that same district.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, if it can be shown that a revision of

<sup>1</sup> *Cp.* St. Augustine quoted above, p. 136.

the text of any Version took place at a particular date and in a particular country we are at once provided with a gauge as it were whereby we can test the date and place of origin of any given MS. of that version. We have a good instance of this latter point in the Latin Versions which naturally fall into the pre- and post-Hieronymian, or Old Latin and Vulgate MSS. according, that is, as they precede or follow the revision made by St. Jerome. The first step, then, in our endeavour to trace our way back to the original text is to disentangle the various threads of tradition with a view to determining whether certain MSS., Versions, revisions, etc., can be referred to definite times and places. This process, first sketched out by Bengel, Semler, Griesbach and Lachmann, was minutely worked out by Westcott and Hort on the following lines which are most conveniently presented diagrammatically:



In this scheme we have to the left the two branches which combine to form what is termed the *Western* type of text; on the right we have the two branches termed respectively the *Syrian* and the *Alexandrian* types. In the centre we have the branch which is presumed to have deviated to the least degree from the original autographs, hence it is called the *Neutral* type of text. It will be noticed that the *Alexandrian* type of text is held to be the one which, after the *Neutral*, approximates the most closely to the uncontaminated stream. Next in order of purity come the *Latin* and *Syriac* Versions, while—derived in a curiously zig-zag fashion from the parent stream of Greek MSS. from which these Versions came—we have the *Syrian* type of text. This is regarded as the most corrupt type of text, just as the *Neutral* is held to be the least corrupt. In terms of MSS. these streams may be expressed somewhat as follows: *Syrian*—or *Received Text*, *Western*—or *Syriac* and *Latin Versions*, *Alexandrian*—best seen in *Codex Alexandrinus*, *Neutral*—or *Codices Vaticanus*, *B*, and *Sinaiticus*, **N** In tabular form we might present it summarily as follows:

<i>Neutral.</i>	<i>Western.</i>	<i>Syrian.</i>	<i>Alexandrian.</i>
<b>Uncial MSS.</b> <b>N B.L.</b>	<i>D.</i>	<i>A, C, and later</i> <i>Uncials.</i>	<i>C</i> in Gospels. <i>A</i> and <i>C</i> in <i>Acts</i> and <i>Epistles.</i> <i>L</i> sometimes.
<b>Cursive MSS.</b> 33 and 61. <b>Versions, Cop-</b> <b>tic.</b> <b>Fathers.</b>	13, 39, 81, 44, 137, 180. Old <i>Latin</i> and Old <i>Syriac.</i> <i>Tatian</i> , <i>St.</i> <i>Irenæus</i> , <i>St. Justin.</i>	The mass of <i>Cur-</i> <i>sives.</i> <i>Later Versions.</i> <i>St. Chrysostom.</i>	Certain <i>Cur-</i> <i>sives.</i>

The *Western* text is so named as being that preserved in the bilingual, *i.e.* Greek and Latin MSS., as also in the Latin MSS.; the *Alexandrian* type of text is the least distinctive, indeed in many quarters there is a tendency to disregard it. The *Neutral* text is so termed as being free

from the blemishes contracted by the other types in the course of transmission. The Syrian type of text is so called because the MSS. and Versions which are said to represent it have a text which characterizes the writings of St. Chrysostom and which is therefore presumed to be the text current in Antioch of Syria in his day. This text is practically that now known as the Received Text and is rejected by Westcott and Hort on the ground that it is the outcome of a revision of the text which must have taken place in Antioch or thereabouts towards the beginning of the fourth century. They maintain that it is remarkable for what they term "conflations," viz. readings which present a conflation or mingling of two earlier ones; thus Luke. xxiv. 53 in MSS. of this type has *praising and blessing God*, while the so-called Neutral text has simply *blessing God*, and the Western text has *praising God*; the compound reading is, it is said, the product of a revision which welded the two readings together. It is consequently held that this Syrian text is remarkable for its smoothness, especially as manifested in such "conflations." It has, however, been pertinently objected that Westcott and Hort only present us with eight examples of such "conflate" readings,<sup>1</sup> and that this is a somewhat slender basis for the huge superstructure they have erected on it. It is also urged that this type of text which they would repudiate has an enormous mass of evidence in its favour in the way of manuscript authority. The defenders of the theory retort not unnaturally that it is not quantity but quality of evidence that we want; quality, they maintain, lies with that type of MS. which has steered clear of the tendencies which betray themselves in the other types of text. As for the small number of "conflations," Sanday, in answer to Miller who demanded at least thirty such instances, replied that probably thirty could be found.<sup>2</sup> It must further be noted that the distinction drawn between texts of the Syrian and of the Western type is none too clear. It is quite possible that the Latin texts first arose in Antioch<sup>3</sup> which would thus be the original home of two

<sup>1</sup> Westcott and Hort, Vol. II. pp. 94-107.

<sup>2</sup> *The Oxford Debate on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, held at New College on May 6, 1897, London, 1897, pp. 18 and 28.

<sup>3</sup> See Kennedy, *The Old Latin Versions*, H.D.B. III. 54.

types of text, the Western and the Syrian. The same argument would apply even more forcibly to the Syriac texts which certainly arose in Antioch and yet are, according to this scheme, allocated to the Western rather than to the Syrian type of text. Moreover, as we saw at the outset, the text dubbed Western has influential and exceedingly early Patristic support, while many of the readings preserved in the Old Latin and in *Codex Bezae* are remarkably ancient. Again, authorities so venerable for age as well as for critical acumen as Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian and Cyprian, have preserved readings of Western, Neutral and Alexandrian type, though it is maintained that they present no Syrian readings.

What has been said thus far will enable us to appreciate the importance of the controversy regarding the age of the Peshitta Syriac Version.<sup>1</sup>

In reading Westcott and Hort's *Introduction* one is always faced by the feeling that the whole thing is a “begging of the question.” On what criterion, for instance, do they pronounce certain readings to be interpolations? What ground have they for maintaining that the other text is necessarily the most corrupt? And this is not only true of their strictures on the Syrian text; it applies equally to their condemnation of the Western text. For the criterion which is to establish the corrupt character of this type of text must be a weighty one since this text undoubtedly has antiquity in its favour. Hort acknowledges that “it was the most widely-spread text of ante-Nicene times.”<sup>2</sup> Yet he condemns it for its love of paraphrase,<sup>3</sup> for its tendency to interpolate,<sup>4</sup> for its fondness for assimilation<sup>5</sup>—“its most dangerous work” he says “is ‘harmonistic’ corruption.”<sup>6</sup>

But one looks in vain for any real proof of these things. The facts of course are there, that is there exist readings which we may, if we like, dub “conflate,” there are texts which occur in a longer or shorter form; but the problem is to find in Hort's *Introduction* any proof that such features necessarily mean “paraphrase” “assimilation” “interpolations.”

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> *The New Testament in Greek*, II. p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 123.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*



tion" "conflation" or "harmonistic corruption." The most we are told is that such things are properly explained as due to the "impulse of scribes" and that such features are characteristic of the Apocryphal writings of the early centuries, for these "exist in two forms of text of which one is evidently an amplification of the other."<sup>1</sup>

Nor is this all. Westcott and Hort were compelled by their theory to postulate, as we have seen, a revision of the text which must have taken place at Antioch towards the beginning of the fourth century. Is it credible, however, that so important an undertaking should have been passed over in absolute silence by historians? Yet no trace of any such revision is to be found in history. Neither do the authors of the theory attempt any historical proof. Their theory demands it and therefore it must have taken place! That revisions of the text did take place, that fresh translations were called for at times, we know well, historians have not been silent on the point. The Latin Vulgate, the Philoxenian and Harcleian Syriac texts are examples; even for the work done in this respect by Pierius, Pamphilus, Hesychius and Lucian we have historical guarantee. But touching this revision—which ultimately produced the type of text which has confessedly been predominant ever since—we have not one single statement by any historian whatever. At the opening of the fifth century a revision of the Syriac text was carried out by Rabbula in Syria, as we have seen when treating of the Syriac Versions,<sup>2</sup> but the full references to this by historians make their silence about the revision which Westcott and Hort find it necessary to postulate still more ominous. Yet Hort says "the Syrian text must be the result of a 'recension' in the proper sense of the word, a work of attempted criticism, performed deliberately by editors and not merely by scribes."<sup>3</sup>

The outcome of Westcott and Hort's investigations is (a) that "readings of  $\aleph B$ , should be accepted as the true readings until strong internal evidence is found to the contrary, and (b) that no readings of  $\aleph B$  can safely be rejected absolutely, though it is sometimes right to put them on an alternative footing, especially where they

<sup>1</sup> *The New Testament in Greek*, II. p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Introduction*, p. 142.

receive no support from Versions or Fathers."<sup>1</sup> This a tremendous conclusion. It means that two MSS., neither of them unimpeachable in character, both of them of unknown origin, neither of them of extraordinary antiquity—even relatively to other well-known MSS.—are to outweigh the evidence of practically all our other sources of information, and the sole reason given is one which we are asked to take on faith—viz. "the extreme and as it were primordial antiquity of the common original from which the ancestors of the two MSS. have diverged, the date of which cannot be later than the the early part of the second century, and may well be yet earlier."<sup>2</sup>

Westcott and Hort's hypothesis was not allowed to go unchallenged. The publication of the *Revised Version of the New Testament* in 1881 was countered by Dean Burgon in *The Revision Revised* in 1883. The Dean fought for what he rightly termed the *Traditional Text* as opposed to the *Received Text*. He had done so for many years, notably in his volume on *The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark* as early as 1871, and now he threw himself into the fray with a zest which at times led him to use language which can hardly be described as temperate. The statement which particularly roused his ire was that the so-called Syrian type of text was not to be found in the ante-Nicene Fathers. In conjunction with Prebendary Miller he produced a formidable list of passages from the Fathers anterior to A.D. 400 which—so he maintained—supported the Traditional Text. How far he was justified in his contention we are not prepared to say; we will only quote Sir Frederic Kenyon's remark that "critical editions of Fathers would show that later MSS. of Fathers have been assimilated to the Traditional Text; earlier MSS. retain the Neutral text."<sup>3</sup> Similarly Miller adduced an immense body of evidence to show that the ante-Nicene Fathers had in the main what we now know as the Traditional Text. On this Kenyon remarks that the texts selected for examination are not really "pure Syrian" readings, i.e. then introduced for the first time, but texts

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook to Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, Macmillan, 1901, p. 274; cf. Miller, *The Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels Vindicated and Established*, 1896, pp. 94-122.

with old Western or Neutral support.<sup>1</sup> We must leave to the reader the interpretation of this cryptic statement. Naturally enough Burgon and Miller fell foul of the hypothesis of a revision at Antioch, and even Kenyon has to acknowledge that there is no proof of any such revision and is content to suggest that the Traditional Text is due to "tendency"—whatever that may mean—or to conflation in case of doubt "in an uncritical age."<sup>2</sup> He even hints that this is all Hort meant; but the citation from Hort given above goes a great deal further than this.

ii. None of Hort's critics, however, can be said to have set up a rival theory unless the fight for the Traditional Text can be termed a rival theory. But for many years past it has been a matter of common knowledge that von Soden was preparing a critical edition of the Greek Testament; indeed portions of the work had appeared in 1904, 1907, and 1913. Von Soden's first task was a thorough re-examination of the material, and this, in his judgment, called for a fresh nomenclature for the MSS. The principles he adopted may be summed up in a sentence of St. Jerome who—speaking of the Septuagint Version—says:

"Alexandria and Egypt boast of Hesychius as the author of their Septuagint copies. The district lying between Constantinople and Antioch eulogizes the copies derived from Lucian the Martyr. The districts lying between these two extremes read the Palestinian copies due to the labours of Origen and popularized by Eusebius and Pamphilus. And the entire world is at war owing to this threefold source of confusion."<sup>3</sup>

So, too, for the New Testament von Soden endeavours to trace out three lines along which tradition has flowed the common text derived from the *κοινή* and labelled by him *K*; a text derived ultimately from Hesychius and therefore to be known as *H*; and finally a text which von Soden labels *I* and which is not to be found in any individual MSS. as are the texts labelled *K* and *H*. Under *K* will fall the later Uncials as well as *Alexandrinus*, *A*; the characteristics claimed for this group are approximately those indicated by Westcott and Hort as pronounced features of the Syrian type of text. *H* is found in *s*<sup>s</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Rufinum*, II, 27, P.L. XXIII. 450.

*B*, also in various Cursive MSS., and—as was to be expected—in the Alexandrian Fathers, Athanasius, Cyril and Didymus, also—in varying degrees—in the Coptic Versions. *I* is to be discovered in the Sinaitic Syriac, in the Old Latin, in the so-called Ferrar group of MSS., and in *Codex Bezae, D*. The Traditional Text is, according to von Soden, to be found in the resultant text derived from a study of these three lines and is particularly traceable in Origen.

It seems more than doubtful whether von Soden's results will secure the suffrages of textual critics. After a careful analysis of his procedure a critic of such standing as Souter says:

“I venture to think that he has failed to understand the way, or rather ways, in which textual variants come about. He has become the slave of his own theories, and one of the results is that he tends to prefer the longer reading, whereas all probability points to the shorter being correct. . . . All over the work we find something capricious in his use of Patristic evidence. The principle by which certain ancient writers are regarded by him as important for quotation purposes, while others are ignored, is incomprehensible to me. His text must be regarded as retrograde, and the student, if he seeks to follow one text by preference, would do well to continue using Westcott and Hort. Nor is Tischendorf's critical apparatus quite antiquated by von Soden's, as it ought to have been. And it is actually the case that in the unpretending apparatus to the ‘Reviser's Greek Text,’ published by the Clarendon Press in 1910, the evidence is at times given with greater accuracy and fulness than in von Soden's massive work of reference.”<sup>1</sup>

iii. It is often the case that a person who is an expert in some other department of study suddenly turns his attention to a subject which hitherto has had no interest for him and then finds that his previous training has fitted him to do good work in this new sphere of interest, finds moreover that coming, as he does, fresh to the matter he is free from the shackles of long prepossessions and has not got into a groove. This was the case with Blass the philologist and with Salmon of Conic Sections fame; both turned their attention to the textual problems of the New Testament and both made their mark in this—to them—virgin soil. It is possible that we are witnessing a recurrence of the phenomenon.

<sup>1</sup> *Expositor*, November, 1915; for other reviews see *R.B.* April, 1907, November, 1913; *J.T.S.* October, 1908, April, 1909.

For in 1914 Professor Clark, who, as Corpus Professor of Latin had made a special study of Latin palæography, and had been able to show that—at any rate in the case of Cicero—the main fault of copyists lay in omission, turned his attention to New Testament textual problems. The test he had applied to the MSS. of classical authors he now applied to the New Testament. It was a delicate test, nothing else than the prose-rhythm of the Latins, which in fact has its counterpart in English prose. The presence or absence of this feature in passages of Cicero which were considered of doubtful authenticity enabled him to arrive at some startling conclusions. But his principal interest lay in the omissions of quite lengthy sections which he found were multiples of the more or less stable number of letters which carefully written MSS. had in each line.

We can only give here the conclusion to which he was led by the application of the same principles to certain controverted passages of the New Testament :

“ Nowhere is the falsity of the maxim *brevior lectio potior* more evident than in the New Testament. The process has been one of contraction, not of expansion. The primitive text is the longest, not the shortest. It is to be found not in *Bs/s*, or in the majority of Greek MSS., but in the ‘ Western ’ family, *i.e.* in the ancient versions and in the *Codex Bezae* (D). ”<sup>1</sup>

Startling as this conclusion is, it is supported by a wealth of evidence and is, in principle at least, endorsed by so well known a textual critic as H. J. White.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts*, p. vi, 1914 ; also by the same author, 1914, *Recent Developments in Textual Criticism*, Clarendon Press, 1914 ; *cp. J.T.S.* January, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> *J.T.S.* July, 1914 ; *R.B.* July, 1914, p. 465. Note particularly these words addressed by Professor Grenfell to the General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, November 17, 1916 : “ Among the theological texts (recently discovered among papyrus ‘ finds ’) is one from the first chapter of Ecclesiasticus in the LXX, which contains the verse, *The word of God most high is the fountain of wisdom, and her ways are everlasting commandments*. This verse occurs in a late Greek cursive MS. and in some of the ancient versions, but is omitted by all the chief uncial codices, and has generally been regarded by recent editors of the Apocrypha as an amplification of the verse preceding. But its occurrence in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus (sixth century) suggests that the omission is probably due to homoioteleuton (this verse ends with *αἰώνια*, its predecessor with *αἰῶνος*).

It is clear that a conclusion like this cuts at the root of all previous theories, whether those of Westcott and Hort or of von Soden.

#### F. Some generally accepted Canons of Textual Criticism.

1. *Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua* or "the more difficult reading is the more probable one;" e.g. no copyist is likely to have invented St. Luke's "second-first" Sabbath, vi. 1.

2. *Brevior lectio præferenda est verbosiori* or "a shorter reading is to be preferred to a longer one." We have seen already how Souter in his review of von Soden's work upholds this principle, also how Clark in his recent investigations runs counter to it.

3. That reading is preferable which will explain the origin of variants, e.g. *Melita* for *Melitene* in Acts xxviii. 1, where the final syllable of *Melitene* is no more than a repetition of the first syllable of the following word *νήσος* or "island."

4. A reading which accords with the characteristic style of an author is thereby rendered probable, e.g. in Jas. i. 27, ii. 4, 13, iii. 17, iv. 2, v. 6, particles have been inserted in some MSS. to render the meaning clearer, but St. James' style is abrupt.

5. The character of a MS. is to be borne in mind, e.g. *Codex Vaticanus*, B, is notorious for its omissions, *Codex Bezae*, D, for its additions.

6. Allowance must also be made for the reduplication of letters, for omissions due to homoioteleuton, etc.

7. A reading which makes nonsense must be suspect, e.g. B. makes St. Paul say of charity that "she seeketh not what is *not* her own," 1 Cor. xiii. 5. This reading is actually given by Clement of Alexandria in one place,<sup>1</sup> but

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This is interesting in view of the recent efforts of Professor Clark to show that the shorter text found in the most ancient Greek MSS. of the Gospels, the Sinaitic and Vatican codices, as contrasted with the longer Western text, is due not to interpolation in the Western text but to accidental omissions of lines in the other."—*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, IV. 1, January, 1917.

<sup>1</sup> *Pæd.* III. 1, P.G. VIII. 357.



he has the correct reading elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> though the Latin version of Clement has "quæ sua sunt" in both instances; but the reading "quæ sua *non* sunt" finds a place in the margin of the Revised Version.<sup>2</sup>

We may conclude this section by pointing out certain further canons or principles which it is no less necessary for the textual critic to bear in mind: (a) Study of the evidence must be all-embracing, in other words witnesses from all sides must be consulted; it is worse than useless to restrict attention to any one set of MSS. or Versions or Fathers. (b) Perfunctory knowledge of any of these departments is no longer admissible; the call is for specialists in the many subsections of the study which have opened out; it is no use, for instance, to suggest that the editions of the Fathers up to now present a Scriptural text which has *probably* been adapted to the current text. As long as this remains a probability our use of Patristic evidence must be uncertain. (c) We have always to bear in mind that the material at our disposal is steadily growing so that whereas, for instance, in the third edition of Scrivener's *Introduction* some 2094 MSS. were recorded, the number had risen to 3791 when Dr. Miller re-edited that work in 1894. In the twenty-three years which have elapsed since then the number of MSS. known to us has grown enormously so that scholars find it impossible to keep pace with the material. In textual criticism of the New Testament, then, we must be content to hold our hand till this vast body of material has been much more thoroughly sifted.

### G. Bibliography.

In addition to the works mentioned in the text: Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les Premiers Siècles du Moyen Age*, Paris; Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, 1900; *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, in the *International Theological Library*, Clark, 1907; Hammond, *Outlines of Textual Criticism*, Clarendon Press, fifth edition, 1890; Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 1895, *Handbook to Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 1901; Miller, *A Guide to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 1886, *The Textual Controversy of the*

<sup>1</sup> *Quis Dives*, XXXVIII., P.G. IX. 644.

<sup>2</sup> For these Canons see Miller, *A Textual Guide*, 1886, p. 120; also Scrivener-Miller, II. 247 ff.

*Twentieth Century*, 1901, *The Causes of the Corruption of the Traditional Text of the Holy Gospels*, 1896; Nestle, *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, English Translation from second edition, London, 1901; Rendel Harris, *A Study of Codex Bezae, Texts and Studies*, II. 1, 1891; Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versionis Antiquae*, Paris, 1751; Thompson, Sir E. Maunde, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 1893; Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission*, Clark, 1906, but see a review by Sanday in the *Expository Times*, March, 1907.

*Editions of the Greek Testament.*—The *Cambridge Greek Testament*, edited by Scrivener, gives the Received Text, viz. the Greek text which formed the basis of the Authorized Version of the English Bible; the departures from this text by the Revised Version are given as foot-notes. The *Oxford Greek Testament* gives Mill's edition of the Received Text with a collation of Westcott and Hort's text as well as the important variants of the Bohairic, Armenian and Ethiopic Versions. Nestle's edition, 1899-1908, gives an eclectic text derived from Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and Weiss. Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament*, 1886, gives a text on which "the majority of modern Editors are agreed" with the readings of many of the principal Editors.

## CHAPTER X

### THE GOSPELS: A GENERAL VIEW

- A. The Name "Gospel."
- B. The Fourfold Gospel: the Symbols of the Evangelists.
- C. The Unity of the Fourfold Gospel.
- D. The Credibility of the Gospels.
- E. The Titles of the Gospels: their Respective Order.
- F. Study of the Gospels.

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#### A. The Name "Gospel."

THE word "Gospel" means "good tidings," εὐαγγέλιον, a meaning which has its roots in prophecy, *e.g.* Is. xl. 9, lii. 7. St. Augustine is particularly fond of bringing out this meaning of the word: "they did not all write the Gospel," he says, "but all preached it. For those who told of the origin, the deeds, the sayings, the Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, are properly called 'Evangelists.' Indeed the very word is, if translated into Latin, 'Good tidings.'" <sup>1</sup> St. Paul uses the term "Gospel" several times and of course in the sense of the "good tidings" preached, not written; it is found in the same sense on our Saviour's lips. <sup>2</sup>

Here, however, we are solely concerned with the "Gospel" as denoting the written records of that "good tidings." These records are no mere human composition such as those mentioned by St. Luke in the *Prologue* to his Gospel; they are inspired by the Holy Spirit and are

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Faustum*, II. 2; *cf.* *Enarr.* in Ps. C. 46, *Sermo*, xlv. 5, cxxxiv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.* Matt. xxiv. 14, xxvi. 13.

therefore of supreme authority.<sup>1</sup> “Such is the authority of the Holy Gospel,” says St. Augustine, “that since the One Spirit spoke in them, what only one of them declares must needs be true.”<sup>2</sup> He also speaks of the Gospels as “dictated by Christ,”<sup>3</sup> and again: “The Gospel is the mouth of Christ. He is seated in heaven, yet He ceaseth not to speak on earth. Let us not be deaf, for he shouts at us. Let us not be dead, for he thunders at us!”<sup>4</sup> Hence that “majesty” of the Gospels of which Origen,<sup>5</sup> St. Jerome<sup>6</sup> and St. Cyprian<sup>7</sup> speak. Hence, too, the power—attaching even to their written records—of curing diseases by mere contact with the sick.<sup>8</sup>

## B. The Fourfold Gospel.

The literature of the early centuries reveals the existence of a large number of so-called Gospels, but, with the single exception of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*,<sup>9</sup> none of these gained any real hold over men’s minds. Indeed one of the most compelling arguments for the divinely-inspired character of the four canonical Gospels is the unquestioned pre-eminence assigned to them from the earliest days. Thus St. Irenæus, after pointing out that even the heretics take their stand upon the Gospels—the Ebionites using that according to Matthew, the Marcionites that according to Luke, others—perhaps the Cerinthians—that according to Mark, and the Valentinians that according to John,—proceeds to show that “there can be neither more nor less than four Gospels.” His proof, drawn from the analogy of the four quarters of the globe, etc., may look quaint and fanciful nowadays, but the point is that in Irenæus’ days

<sup>1</sup> Note Origen’s comment on St. Luke’s expression “many have taken in hand to set forth . . .”; “‘taken in hand,’ an implicit accusation of those who, though without the grace of the Holy Spirit, rushed into the task of writing Gospels. Of a truth Matthew, Mark, John and Luke did not ‘take in hand’ to write, but being filled with the Spirit they penned the Gospels” (*Hom. I. in Lucam, P.L. XXVI. 221*).

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo cccxxv. I.*

<sup>3</sup> *De Consensu Evangelistarum, I. 54.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sermo lxxxv. 1; cf. Sermo cxlii. 9, P.L. XXXVIII. 520 and 784.*

<sup>5</sup> *Contra Celsum, III. 21.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ep. cxxviii. 1; on Ezech. i. 18.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. xxix. 2.*

<sup>8</sup> St. Augustine, *Tract. VII. i. 12 in Joann. : Origen, Contra Celsum, III. 24.*

<sup>9</sup> *Cf. p. 182 infra.*

our four Gospels were the only recognized ones.<sup>1</sup> Thus Origen is quoted by Eusebius as speaking of "the Four Gospels, which are the only indisputable ones under heaven."<sup>2</sup> Elsewhere

"The Church has her Four Gospels, the heresies their many . . . but there are only four approved Gospels whence, in the person (*sub persona*) of our Lord and Saviour, doctrines are to be drawn. I know indeed a Gospel called according to *Thomas* and another according to *Matthias*, and we have read many others (he had already mentioned those according to the *Egyptians* and according to the *Twelve Apostles* as well as that of *Basilides*) lest, in the eyes of those who fancy they know something because they know such things as these, we should appear ignorant. But in all these things we approve of nothing save what the Church approves, viz. that only Four Gospels are to be received."<sup>3</sup>

How these Four Gospels attained their pre-eminence can only be explained by the fact of their divine inspiration, and of this the Church of God was sole judge. That the Four Gospels, or rather the four Evangelists, were pre-figured in *Ezekiel's* vision, where the "four living creatures" had respectively the face of a man, of a lion, of an ox and an eagle, was apparently taken for granted from the earliest days of the Church, though that the Fathers are far from being in agreement as to the precise assignation of these symbolical figures to the individual Evangelists the following table will show:—

<i>St. Irenæus.</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>St. Ambrose.</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>St. Jerome.</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>St. Augustine.</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>Pseudo-Athanasius.</i> <sup>8</sup>
St. Matthew. Homo.	Homo.	Homo.	Leo.	Homo.
St. Mark. Aquila.	Leo.	Leo.	Homo.	Vitulus.
St. Luke. Vitulus.	Vitulus.	Vitulus.	Vitulus.	Leo.
St. John. Leo.	Aquila.	Aquila.	Aquila.	Aquila.

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. xi. 6, cf. III. i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* VI. xxv. 4, cf. III. xxv. 1, "the holy quaternion of the Gospels."

<sup>3</sup> *Hom. I. in Lucam*, St. Jerome's translation, *P.L.* XXVI. 221.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. xi. 8, *P.G.* VII. 887.

<sup>5</sup> *Prol. in Comment. in Lucam*, *P.L.* XV. 1532.

<sup>6</sup> *Adv. Jovin.* I. 26, *P.L.* XXIII. 248; *Comment. in Ezech.* i. 10, *P.L.* XXV. 24; *Prol. to Comment. in Matth.*, *P.L.* XXVI. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Tract.* XXXVI. viii. 5 in *Joann.*, *P.L.* XXXV. 1666; *De Consensu*, I. vi. (9).

<sup>8</sup> *Pseudo-Athanasius*, *P.G.* XXVIII. 431.

The argument is, in general, that Matthew, commencing as he does with the carnal generation of Christ, portrays His Humanity; Mark, with his opening words *Vox clamantis in deserto*, pictures the regal power of Christ and is therefore symbolized by the lion; Luke, opening with the vision to Zachary the priest, is symbolized by the sacrificial calf; John, soaring, as on the wings of an eagle, to the eternal generation of the Second Person of the Trinity, is symbolized by the eagle. St. Augustine expressly upholds his assignation of the symbols as against that of St. Irenæus; this latter view, says Augustine, “only takes into account the opening words of each book while neglecting the whole scope of each Evangelist, though this is what really demands consideration.”<sup>1</sup> Yet St. Ambrose has a remark which it is well to bear in mind:

“Many think that in the four books of the Gospel our Lord Himself is depicted under the figure of these four animals, and that He Himself is at the same time the Man, the Lion, the Calf and the Eagle. The Man because born of Mary, the Lion because powerful, the Calf since He is the victim, the Eagle since He is the Resurrection.”<sup>2</sup>

At the same St. Augustine is clearly right when he insists that we have to take into account the whole scope of each Gospel and the individuality of each Evangelist if we would rightly appreciate these symbols. Thus, combining their respective statements, and transferring the symbols from the Evangelists to the Christ Whom they depict, we should be inclined to see in these mystic figures a fourfold presentment of Christ, in Matthew as the King of prophecy and thus the “Lion,” in Mark He is the “Man,” in Luke He is the “Priest,” in John He is, by reason of the sublimity of His teaching, the “Eagle.”<sup>3</sup>

### C. The Unity of the Fourfold Gospel.

The fourfold picture of Christ is essentially one, for the source of its inspiration is the one Christ: “Since they wrote what He showed them and said to them we cannot

<sup>1</sup> *De Consensu*, I. vi. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Prol. in Lucam*, 8, *P.L.* XV. 1532.

<sup>3</sup> For various summaries of the Fourfold Gospel see Origen, *Prol.* 6 and *Tom.* VI. 17 in *Joann.*, *Hom.* I. in *Matth.*; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III. 13; St. Augustine, *De Consensu*, I. i. 3, etc.



possibly say that it was not He Who wrote it, for His members have only done what they learnt from the dictation of their Head."<sup>1</sup> Hence that unity in variety and variety in unity which forms one of the chief charms of the Gospels and which is really one of the most convincing proofs of the veracity of the different authors. St. Augustine has well expressed this when he says, apropos of the Resurrection narratives :

"All the Evangelists were furnished with what to write according as the Spirit of recollection provided them with what they should write. One wrote one thing, one another. One might omit some truth, none could state what was false. And you must reckon that One wrote all these things, for there was but one Spirit in them all."<sup>2</sup>

But despite this fundamental oneness the standpoint of each Evangelist was different, as was the tongue they used and as were the circumstances under which they wrote, the readers for whom they wrote, and the particular purpose they each had in view in writing. In these facts lies the key to all the apparent discrepancies discoverable when two or more of them narrate the same thing. This could hardly be better expressed than in St. Jerome's words :

"The first of all is Matthew the publican, his name was also Levi ; he published his Gospel in Judæa in the Hebrew tongue, and especially for the sake of those Jews who had believed in Jesus and who had therefore wholly ceased to cling to the shadow of the Law now at length dissipated by the Gospel truth. The second is Mark, the interpreter of Peter and the first Bishop of the Alexandrian Church. He had not indeed seen the Lord in the flesh, but what he had heard his master preaching that he narrated, and with greater fidelity to the facts than to the precise order in which they took place. The third is Luke the physician, a Syrian of Antioch by birth, 'whose praise is in the Gospel,' a disciple of the Apostle Paul. He wrote his volume in Achaia and Bœotia. Some things he derived from older sources and, as he himself acknowledges in his *Prologue*, he described rather what he had heard than what he had actually seen. The last is John, the Apostle and Evangelist whom Jesus loved exceedingly and who, reposing on the Lord's breast, drank thence the purest streams of doctrine."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De Consensu*, I. xxxiv. (54), *P.L.* XXXIV. 1070.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermo* cxlvi. 1, *P.L.* XXXVIII. 1153. Note, too, Origen's remark : "Some do not understand that just as He Whom the several Evangelists preach is One, so is the Gospel which they wrote one. In fact the Gospel written by four is but one Gospel," *Tom. II. 4 in Joann.*, *P.G.* XIV. 194 ; cf. also St. Chrysostom on Gal. 1, *P.G.* LXI. 621.

<sup>3</sup> *Prol. to Comment in Matthæum*, *P.L.* XXVI. 18 ; cf. *Adv. Jovin.* I. 26, *P.L.* XXIII. 247-8.

## D. The Credibility of the Gospels.

It is, as we have seen, the Divine inspiration of the Evangelists which secures their unity in diversity since it demands accuracy and truthfulness. “The Apostles,” says St. Irenæus, “as the disciples of truth, are alien to all untruth.”<sup>1</sup> Even Origen, who insists so strongly on the impossibility of reconciling the apparent discrepancies in the Gospel without having remorse to allegorical interpretations,<sup>2</sup> insists with equal vehemence on the absolute truthfulness of each evangelist.<sup>3</sup> A comparison between the methods followed by Origen and St. Augustine respectively when investigating the supposed discrepancies in the Gospels will prove most instructive. For Origen is not afraid to say that the Scriptures narrate events which “did not take place,”<sup>4</sup> that the history “took place in appearance and not literally,”<sup>5</sup> and that “circumstances which did not occur are inserted.”<sup>6</sup> At the same time he is careful to insist that the Evangelists “were not guilty of inventing untruths, but that such were their real impressions and they recorded them truly.”<sup>7</sup> He points out one of the best arguments for the veraciousness of the Evangelists when he says: “That the dead really were raised and that those who penned the Gospels did not invent this, is very apparent from the fact that if it were a figment they would have told us that many were so raised and would have made out that they had remained much longer in the tomb.”<sup>8</sup> But Augustine was fully alive to the dangers of Origen’s methods, all the more that he had read him carefully and had indeed taken over some of his

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. v. 1, P.G. VII. 858; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II. 24, 26, 48.

<sup>2</sup> “In my judgment it is impossible for those who refuse to admit anything but pure history in these things to show that the apparent discrepancies are really not such,” *Tom. X. 15 in Joann.*, P.G. XIV. 346; and further on, “Examine then carefully whether the changes in what is written and the discrepancies in it can be got rid of by some anagogical explanation whereby each Evangelist describes different actions of the Word of God in different states of souls, not, that is, setting forth identical things but similar things,” *ib.* 18.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g. Tom. X. 11 in Joann.*

<sup>4</sup> *De Principiis*, IV. 15-16.

<sup>7</sup> *Contra Celsum*, II. 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 48, P.G. XI. 258.

explanations.<sup>1</sup> He himself proceeded on entirely different lines and the principles which guided him throughout his *De Consensu Evangelistarum* as well as in his exegetical Sermons are set forth in his well-known words to St. Jerome :

“To the Canonical Scriptures alone have I learned to pay such honour and deference that I most firmly believe that none of the authors of those Books erred in aught that he wrote. If then I stumble upon anything in their writings which seems contrary to the truth, I do not hesitate to say simply that either my copy is faulty, or that the translator has not set down what was really written, or that I myself have not understood. Other writers however I read in this spirit : Whatever learning or holiness they may be endowed with I do not regard what they say as true merely because they think so, but only in proportion as they have been able to prove to me, either by quoting Canonical writers or by valid reasoning, that what they say is not alien to the truth.”<sup>2</sup>

These principles are constantly on Augustine's lips ; he urged them with great force in his disputes with the Manichees, especially against Faustus.<sup>3</sup> And they have prevailed in the Church.<sup>4</sup> Origen, as we saw above, would exonerate the Evangelists from blame for inaccuracies by saying that they really thought that what they said was true and thus—though mistaken—they were still veracious. It is worth while noting how absolutely opposed such a view is to the teaching of the Fathers in general. The Apostles, says St. Jerome, had all the special gifts enumerated by St. Paul when writing to the Corinthians, and “What was most especially necessary, they spoke in the tongues of all the peoples so that when preaching Christ they might need no interpreter ;” and all this, he urges, is

<sup>1</sup> Compare for example *Contra Faustum*, XXXIII. 8, P.L. XLII. 516, with Origen, *Tom. X. 3 in Joann.*, P.G. XIV. 311 ; also *De Consensu*, II. 27-29, P.L. XXXIV. 1090-91, with Origen, *Tom. VI. 18 in Joann.*, P.G. XIV. 258 ; the dependence of St. Augustine on Origen almost extends to the very words he uses.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. CXVI. 3 inter Opp. S. Hieronymi*, P.L. XXII. 937 ; cf. *Contra Faustum*, III. 5, XI. 5, XIII. 5, 6, XVII. 3, XXVIII. 2, 4 ; P.L. XLII.

<sup>3</sup> *Contra Faustum*, III. 5, XXVI. 3, 5, XXXII. 21, XXXIII. 5-6 ; P.L. XLII.

<sup>4</sup> See the Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* given in Vol. I., also the Encyclical *Pascendi gregis* as an application of the former, see the extracts given in the *Introduction to St. John's Gospel*, *infra*.

because they were filled with the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason Tertullian insists that the Evangelists were either Apostles or "Apostolic men," *viz.* men in immediate dependence on the Apostles, *i.e.* Mark and Luke.<sup>2</sup> It was for this reason that Basilides endeavoured to give to his Gospel the ægis of the Apostle Matthias.<sup>3</sup> Their very position as members of our Lord's circle "makes it absurd to suppose," says Origen, "that as His familiar friends and hearers they could have handed down the doctrines given in the Gospel without committing things to writing or without leaving to their disciples writings whence they might gather what Christ had done."<sup>4</sup> They had the fullest knowledge: "It is unlawful to say," says St. Irenæus, "that the Apostles preached before they had full knowledge, though indeed those who boast that they are correctors of the Apostles dare to say this. For after the Resurrection of our Lord from the dead they were both clothed with the power of the Holy Spirit descending from on high and they had full knowledge. . . ."<sup>5</sup> Still more emphatically Tertullian: "They are wont to say that the Apostles did not know everything—the same kind of madness which makes them call "upwards" "downwards;"<sup>6</sup> or, that while the Apostles knew everything, they yet did not hand down everything to us. Either way they attach reproach to Christ as though He had sent out ill-instructed or excessively simple Apostles."<sup>7</sup> Hence Origen warmly insists on the claims which the Evangelists have to our belief: "Those," he says, "are rightly said to 'sow' (he is commenting on John iv. 36) who in any art or science have grasped its principles . . . and it is easy to see how much more this must be the case in that art which is the art of arts and the science of sciences (namely the

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Hedibiam, Ep.* CXX. 9, *P.L.* XXII. 994-997.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 2, *P.L.* II. 363; note too the *Muratorian Fragment*, lines 6-7, *supra*, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Hippolytus, *Hæc.* VII.

<sup>4</sup> *Contra Celsum*, II. 13, *P.L.* XIII. 523.

<sup>5</sup> *Adv. Hæc.* III. i. 1, *P.G.* VII. 844.

<sup>6</sup> *Susum jusum convertunt*, low-Latin forms of *sursum* and *deorsum*; this seems to have been a familiar expression, *cf.* St. Augustine, *Tract.* VIII. 2 and X. 8 in *1 Joann.*, Lactantius, *De Morte Persecutorum*, XIX. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *De Præscriptionibus*, 22 and 26, *P.L.* II. 34-38. *Cp.* *De Fuga*, 9.

knowledge of God's revealed truth).” But, he continues, Moses and the Prophets were these “sowers” and we have entered into their labours, with this difference, however, that

“the Apostles have made use of the seeds of those far more recondite and profound things which Moses and the Prophets furnished them, and have arrived at a far fuller vision of the truth since Jesus lifted up their minds and enlightened their eyes—that is the fuller vision of the fields that were white for the harvest. Yet at the same time, since Moses and the Prophets did not fall behind them, they did not from the outset see all those things which the Apostles saw at Christ's coming, but as it were looked forward to the fulness of the time; when that time came with the coming of the Glorious Jesus Christ then were to be revealed also things more excellent than any which had ever been said or written in the world, revealed by Him Who ‘thought it not robbery to be made equal with God but emptied Himself taking the form of a servant.’”<sup>1</sup>

Hence Origen is able to jeer at Celsus and those like-minded with him and say

“You who think that what the disciples committed to writing touching the miracles Jesus wrought is wholly fictitious, how is it you do not reckon the prodigies (narrated of the heathen deities) to be fictions and fables? Do you fancy Herodotus and Pindar are not deceiving you with their lies, while those who are ready to die for the teachings of Jesus and have left to posterity written accounts of the things they had personally witnessed, have so fought for fictions and fables and lying prodigies as to lead miserable lives and meet with violent deaths.”<sup>2</sup>

The Evangelists were, as Tertullian has told us,<sup>3</sup> either Apostles or “Apostolic men,” *viz.* immediate disciples of Apostles; they belonged, that is, to Christ's circle and were in close and intimate relation with Him. Thus they were, by the nature of the case, first-hand witnesses of the events they narrated. It is the custom however to speak of them as “uneducated fishermen” who would be incapable of appreciating evidence, and who would be only too easily carried away by their emotions and by their personal devotion to their Teacher.<sup>4</sup> Yet what ground is

<sup>1</sup> *Tom.* XIII. 46 in *Joann.*, *P.G.* XIV. 483-486.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Celsum* III. 27, *P.G.* XI. 954.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, pp. 72-73; note, too, how St. Irenæus seems to speak of the Four Evangelists as ‘Peter, John, Matthew and Paul,’ *Adv. Hæc.* III. xxi. 3, *P.G.* VII. 950.

<sup>4</sup> Such views practically formed the basis of *Lives of Christ* like those by Strauss and Renan.



there for supposing them uneducated? Their writings should be sufficient disproof of this notion, for—leaving on one side the indubitably literary Third Gospel—we have in Matthew, Mark and John narratives of undeniable charm even if we cannot claim for their very simplicity a high standard of literary composition. The men who penned these "living" documents cannot have been uneducated in the ordinary sense of the term. And as a matter of fact the entire Jewish tradition is opposed to it. The Jews themselves have always been educationalists and we can trace back their efforts in this direction to a very early date. Thus in his very curious amplification of Moses' exhortations towards the close of the Wanderings Josephus makes the great Lawgiver say: "Let the children also learn the laws as the first thing they are taught, which will be the first thing they can be taught, and will be the cause of their future happiness"—the address opens with the remarkable declaration: "O children of Israel, there is but one source of happiness for all mankind—the favour of God!"<sup>1</sup> And again: "Our principal care is the educating our children well."<sup>2</sup> It is true that this education was almost, if not quite, exclusively Biblical. But what finer education could men have? St. Paul makes it a matter of special commendation to Timothy that he has received such education.<sup>3</sup> We see its effects in the way in which the Evangelists are steeped in the Old Testament; it is the same with the Saints of the time of Christ. When Zachary, Simeon and the Blessed Virgin break into song their Canticles are little more than a cento of passages from all parts of the Old Testament; it is the same with St. Stephen's speech.<sup>4</sup> How insistent was the regular teaching by the Scribes is clear from the numerous references in the New Testament; and though this teaching was not elementary, yet there is no indication that it was confined to a limited audience.<sup>5</sup> As for individual Evangelists their educated character is vouched for in the case of St. Matthew who would hardly have sat at the seat of custom had he been lacking in the ordinary requirements of a man

<sup>1</sup> *Ant.* IV. viii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Apionem*, I. 12, cf. II. 26.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Tim. iii. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Acts vii.

<sup>5</sup> See St. Jerome, *Ep.* CXXI. 10, *P.L.* XXII. 1034.



of business. That St. Luke was educated goes without saying. As for St. John, even if it could be shown that he had not received a good elementary education, we should still have to reckon with the long years of his life, his travels and his intimate experience of men. St. Mark can hardly be an exception; at any rate both St. Peter and St. Paul found him useful as a secretary.

The Evangelists, then, had first-hand sources of information. Moreover they were far from being prejudiced witnesses, they had no axe to grind, they had stubbornly resisted the evidence for Christ's Resurrection,<sup>1</sup> as some also of the body of disciples had found the doctrine touching the Holy Eucharist "a hard saying." But just as St. Thomas' doubts serve to render our faith the stronger, so too the fact that the Evangelists were "slow to believe" renders their grudging witness the more effective.<sup>2</sup> Further, the very independence of their individual narratives, together with the apparent want of harmony in their accounts of certain events, cries out against the idea that their stories are fictitious. The same must be said of the unaffected simplicity of style which so offended St. Augustine and on which Lactantius remarks more than once.<sup>3</sup> Yet this same simple style served as a vehicle for the profoundest doctrine, a doctrine which at the same time revolted and yet won the world.<sup>4</sup> The Evangelists died, their Evangels remained. False Gospels appeared in profusion, but they have hardly endured as the treasures of museums, while the Canonical Four, despite their lack of adornment, are and always will be fruitful in the divinest thoughts for all men and for all time.

Hence the "Majesty" of the Gospels;<sup>5</sup> hence the custom of swearing by them;<sup>6</sup> hence, too, the place of honour assigned to a copy of the Gospels in the Councils of the

<sup>1</sup> Mark xvi. 14; Luke xxiv. 25.

<sup>2</sup> John xx. with St. Gregory, *Hom. XXVI. in Evangelia*.

<sup>3</sup> Lactantius, *Instituta* V. 1, *cf.* Origen, *Tom. II. 2 in Joann.*, P.G. XIV. 186.

<sup>4</sup> See Acts xvii. 32-34 and 1 Cor. i. 18-28.

<sup>5</sup> *Supra*, p. 154.

<sup>6</sup> *H.E.* VII. xv.; for the procedure at the Council of Chalcedon see Mansi, *Concilia* VI. 726, also Binius' note on the Council of Nice, *ib.* II. 730, for the Council of Ephesus, *ib.* V. 449; see Baronius under A.D. 428, no. 19.

Church;<sup>1</sup> hence the attribution of miraculous powers to them when brought into contact with the sick.<sup>2</sup>

### E. The Titles of the Gospels.

The unity of the Four Gospels is signified in the received expression: “the Gospel according to Matthew, or Mark, etc.” In other words their Gospels were not regarded as individual and independent compositions, but each told the same story from his own point of view. The above title “the Gospel according to N—,” is of very early occurrence; thus we find Clement of Alexandria speaking of the Gospel “according to John,”<sup>3</sup> also of that “according to Mark.”<sup>4</sup> The Council of Laodicea uses the same expression.<sup>5</sup> At the same time the Apostolic Catalogue, ratified at the Quinisextine Council, as well as the Catalogue given in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, speak, the former of “the Gospels of Matthew, Mark,” etc., the latter of “the Gospels which Matthew, etc., handed down to us.”<sup>6</sup>

*The order of the Gospels* in our printed Bibles is that sanctioned by tradition. Thus out of thirty authorities cited by Westcott<sup>7</sup> no fewer than twenty-one give our present order; among these we may note the *Canon of Muratori*,<sup>8</sup> the Council of Laodicea, the *Apostolic Canon*, etc. Six of the above-mentioned authorities simply give “the Four Gospels” without indicating their order; only two show a tendency to put in the first place those Gospels which were written by Apostles—in accordance, apparently, with the statement of Clement of Alexandria preserved by Eusebius<sup>9</sup> to the effect that “the tradition of the earliest Presbyters as to the order of the Gospels is that the Gospels containing the Genealogy (of Christ) were, he

<sup>1</sup> Mansi, *Concilia* VI. 730, 778, 782, 798. Haddan and Stubbs, III. 142.

<sup>2</sup> P. 154, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Pædag.* I. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Quis Dives?* V.

<sup>5</sup> A.D. 363; given by Westcott, *Canon of the New Testament*, *Append. D.*; for the authenticity of this Canon LIX. see *l.c.* 399-405, 3rd ed.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 503 and 505.

<sup>7</sup> *L.c.*

<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 89.

<sup>9</sup> *H.E.* VI. xiv. 5, *P.G.* XX. 551; the *Curetonian Syriac* has the order Matthew, Mark, John, Luke; *Codex Bezae* has Matthew, John, Luke, Mark.

(Clement) says, written first." This statement however receives no confirmation from other sources unless perhaps Tertullian intends to insist on this same order when he distinguishes between Apostles and "Apostolic men" as authors of the Four Gospels and then goes on to say: "Of the Apostles, therefore, John and Matthew first instil faith into us; whilst of 'Apostolic men' Luke and Mark renew it afterwards."<sup>1</sup> How far the traditional order can be taken as indicative of the dates at which the respective Gospels were written is another question; it is certainly an indication which cannot be lightly set on one side. St. Augustine has some remarks on the order of the Four Gospels which should be weighed:

"First Matthew," he says, "then Mark, then Luke, lastly John. As far, then, as their respective knowledge of and preaching of the Gospel is concerned, their mutual order is not the same as the order in which they wrote the Gospel. For as far as knowledge and preaching are concerned those were the first who followed the Lord when present in the flesh, who heard Him speaking and witnessed His deeds, and who by His command were sent to preach the Gospel. But in writing the Gospel—a task which was, we must suppose, divinely committed to them—two of the number of those whom the Lord chose before His Passion occupy the first and the last place respectively, Matthew the first, John the last. While the two who remain were not of their number, yet none the less did they follow the Christ Who spoke within them. . . . Of these four Matthew alone wrote in Hebrew, the others in Greek. And while each of them would seem to have retained their own method of writing, yet no one of them seems to have written in ignorance of what his predecessor had written, nor to have omitted in ignorance what another had given, but, according as each one was inspired, he added to the whole the co-operation of a toil which was not superfluous. For Matthew undertook to speak of the Lord's Incarnation according to His kingly ancestry as well as of many of His sayings and doings according to man's present life. Mark followed Matthew as his body-servant and abbreviator, for nowhere has he aught in common with John alone; scarcely anything does he relate on his own sole authority. Whereas he has very much in common with Matthew; indeed he narrates many things in precisely the same terms as does Matthew and as, at times, do the others. Luke seems more occupied with the priestly character and origin of the Lord."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *De Consensu*, I. ii. 3-4, *P.L.* XXXIV. 1043-4.

## F. The Study of the Gospels.

When preaching on the apparently conflicting accounts of the Genealogy of our Saviour St. Augustine pathetically says :

"I speak to you as one who was at one time myself deceived. For when I was younger I approached the Divine Scriptures rather from zeal for discussion than from a devout desire to learn. And thus I, by my perverse frame of mind, shut to the Lord's door upon myself; when I should have knocked for Him to open to me I went and compelled Him to shut it! For I dared in my pride to ask what none save the humble can find!"<sup>1</sup>

And again, when commenting on John v. 19, he says :

"Heresies are not begotten, nor those perverse doctrines which ensnare men's souls and cast them into hell, save when what Scripture has well said is not well understood, and when what we have not rightly gathered from Scripture is made the subject of rash and bold assertion. We ought, then, to listen to the Scriptures with the greatest caution, for as far as understanding of them goes we are but as little children. Rather then should we with a heartfelt devotion and awe hold to this sound rule, that we joyfully receive as our food that which, in accordance with the faith wherewith we are sealed, we can understand; but when we cannot, according to the sound rule of faith, understand some point, then we put aside all doubt and defer our understanding of it, that is—even though we know not what some particular thing may mean—we do not therefore for a moment doubt but that it is something most good and true."<sup>2</sup>

Humility, then, is an essential if we would arrive at a true understanding of Holy Scripture. And Origen would add also time and patience: when commenting on John viii. 37 he says :

"I am exposing myself to danger, for it is dangerous here to treat of and expound such points as these. Indeed especially dangerous here, since 'the dispenser of the mysteries of God' must needs ask for time for setting forth such doctrines so as not to weary his hearers; he must study the reasons why something is lacking or something added."<sup>3</sup>

"We must not," says St. Augustine, "rush in headlong fashion to the defence of some opinion and thus come a dismal fall when more diligent investigation has shown that that view was false: for this

<sup>1</sup> *Sermo* LI. 5, *P.L.* XXXVIII. 336.

<sup>2</sup> *Tract.* XVIII. 1 in *Joann.*, *P.L.* XXXV. 1536; cf. *Tract.* XVI. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Tom.* XX. 2 in *Joann.*, *P.G.* XIV. 573; cf. *De Principiis* I. 10, also *Tom.* XX. 29 in *Joann.*, *P.G.* XIV. 655.

means that we are fighting not for what the Divine Scripture holds but for what we ourselves hold; we are trying to make Scripture mean what we want, when we ought rather to want our opinion to be that of Holy Scripture."<sup>1</sup>

Difficulties of course there must be in the Gospels. How should it be otherwise with documents which serve as the basis for Christianity? We have to remind ourselves sometimes that, as St. Augustine reminded Faustus, we are not the first to discover difficulties in Holy Scripture.<sup>2</sup> The volumes of the New Testament are, as we have seen, "occasional,"<sup>3</sup> the Gospels themselves are essentially incomplete biographies,<sup>4</sup> written, too, at a time exceedingly remote from our own, according to the canons of oriental—not Western—ideas of history and literature, in a language which to us is dead and which we are only in these last days beginning literally to dig up from the rubbish heaps of the past. The simplicity of the narrative, added to our great familiarity with it—a familiarity which somehow dulls our sense of the true inwardness of the message,—added also to certain unspoken prepossessions—a vague notion that somehow the Gospels are not to be taken quite literally—all this, combined with the subtle influence of the all-pervading rationalistic criticism of the present day, tends to increase rather than lessen the difficulties already inherent in the Gospels. We have to make our own Origen's beautiful words:

"We cannot say of the Letters of the Holy Spirit that in them there is aught that is idle or superfluous, even though many things therein seem to be obscure. Rather should we direct our souls' gaze to Him Who ordered these things to be written and so beg of Him a due understanding of them."<sup>5</sup>

It is easy to dogmatize, easy to set forth crude and ill-digested opinions, but as St. Augustine so often reminded his hearers, prayer to the Father of lights is needed, for "deep calleth unto deep" and the Spirit of God in the student must call to and respond to the Spirit of God in the written page.

<sup>1</sup> *De Genesi ad litt.* I. xviii. 37, *P.L.* XXXIV. 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Faustum*, III. 2, *P.L.* XLII. 214.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Hqm.* XXVII. 1 in *Numbers*, *P.G.* XII. 782.

## G. Bibliography.

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## CHAPTER XI

### THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW

- A. The Life of St. Matthew.
- B. The Authenticity of the *First Gospel*.
- C. The Date of its Composition.
- D. The Sources used by St. Matthew.
- E. Linguistic Peculiarities of St. Matthew's Gospel.
- F. The Historical Trustworthiness of the Gospel.
  - i. In General.
  - ii. Recent Views.
  - iii. The *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.
- G. Divisions and Analysis of the Gospel.
- H. Passages peculiar to St. Matthew.
- J. The Theological Teaching.
- K. Bibliography.
- L. Appendix: St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. i.

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#### A. Life of St. Matthew.

ST. MATTHEW has himself told us how, as Levi the Publican, he was called by Our Saviour to follow Him, ix. 9, x. 3; Luke vi. 15, v. 27. St. Luke, vi. 15 and Acts i. 13, conceals the identity of Matthew with the publican Levi. For Levi seems to have changed his former name into that of Matthew, perhaps in memory of his conversion, since *Matthew* means in Hebrew "the gift of the Lord," cf. such names as Matthanias, 4 Kings xxiv. 17, Mathathias, 1 Paral. ix. 31, and 1 Macc. ii. 1; it corresponds to the once common Latin name Adeodatus, to the Greek Theodore, and the Hebrew Nathaniel.

Less is known of the life of St. Matthew than of almost any other of the Apostles. St. Jerome's brief account in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers* is as follows :

“Matthew, who is also Levi, and who from a publican became an Apostle, was the first to put together, in Judæa, for the sake of those of the circumcision who had believed, the Gospel of Christ. He did this in Hebrew characters and words. But who afterwards translated it into Greek is by no means clear. As a matter of fact the Hebrew text is still preserved in the library at Cæsarea which Pamphilus the Martyr so laboriously collected. And I myself had an opportunity of copying it afforded me by the Nazarenes of Berœa in Syria who use this edition (*volumine*). I would only remark here that wherever the Evangelist, whether in his own person or in that of Our Lord and Saviour, appears to misquote the Old Testament, he is not following the authority of the Septuagint translation, but the Hebrew, *e.g.* *Out of Egypt have I called my son, and that he shall be called a Nazarite.*”<sup>1</sup>

Thus Jerome is silent about the Apostle's life. It is a common opinion, however, that St. Matthew evangelized Ethiopia and that he died a martyr, though this latter statement is denied by Heracleon, the author of the earliest Commentary on the *First Gospel*. Clement of Alexandria has left us one small biographical notice: “the Apostle Matthew partook of seeds, nuts, and vegetables, without flesh-meat.”<sup>2</sup>

### B. The Authenticity of the *First Gospel*.

Our present *First Gospel* only exists in Greek, no trace of the Hebrew or Aramaic text has been found. The authorities for the assertion that it was originally composed in Aramaic are numerous ; they are all given by Eusebius.

*Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis in the early part of the second century, says : “So, then, Matthew wrote the Oracles (λόγια, *cf. infra*) in the Hebrew language, and everyone interpreted them as he was able.”<sup>3</sup> *St. Irenæus* : “Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language while Peter and Paul were founding the Church in Rome.”<sup>4</sup> *Origen* : “Among the Four Gospels, which

<sup>1</sup> *Vir. Illustr.* III., P.L. XXIII. 614 ; *cf. Prol. to Comment. in Matt.*, P.L. XXVI. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Pæd.* II. 1 ; *cf. Strom.* II. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *H.E.* III. xxix. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. i. 1 ; *H.E.* V. viii. 2. For a discussion of this passage see below.

are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God under heaven, I have learned by tradition that the first was written by Matthew, who was once a publican, but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ; it was prepared for the converts from Judaism and published in the Hebrew tongue."<sup>1</sup> Eusebius himself: "Matthew, who had first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other countries, committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue, and thus compensated for the loss of his presence those whom he was obliged to leave."<sup>2</sup> Pantenus, the teacher of Clement of Alexandria, "found in India the Gospel according to Matthew, which had anticipated his arrival. For Bartholomew, one of the Apostles, had preached to them, and had left with them the writing of Matthew in the Hebrew language; this they had preserved till that time."<sup>3</sup>

In face of such consentient testimony, there seems no reason whatever for doubting that St. Matthew wrote a Gospel in Aramaic, *i.e.* in that form of Hebrew which was spoken in Palestine in Our Lord's time. But the words of Papias, "Matthew wrote the LOGIA in the Hebrew language," have given rise to endless controversy. What is the precise meaning of the word *logia*? In Greek classical writers, *e.g.* in Herodotus, Euripides, and Thucydides, it certainly means "oracles"; and in the New Testament, where it occurs four times, *viz.* Acts vii. 38, Rom. iii. 2, Heb. v. 12, and 1 Pet. iv. 11, it is rendered in the Vulgate by "verba," "eloquia," or "sermones,"<sup>4</sup> and in practically all these instances it is the equivalent of "oracles." Since, then, the title of Papias' great work from which Eusebius quotes, and which is unfortunately lost, was *Commentaries on the Logia of the Lord*, the question at once arises: since "logia" meant, at least generally, "oracles," does it not follow that this Gospel of Matthew contained nothing more than the *Discourses* of Our Lord? If this be so, then, since our present First Gospel contains a great deal more than "discourses," it would seem to follow that it does not strictly correspond to the original Aramaic Gospel of

<sup>1</sup> H.E. VI. xxv. 4; *cf.* Origen, *Hom. I. in Matt.*, ed. Delarue, III. 440; *Præf. in Joan.* vi., P.G. XIV. 36; *Hom. VII. I. in Josue*, P.G. XII. 857.

<sup>2</sup> H.E. III. xxiv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> H.E. V. x. 3; *cf.* St. Augustine, *De Consensu*, I. ii. (4), II. lxvi. (128).

<sup>4</sup> Thus note its use in Ps. cxviii., where it is used to render the Hebrew אִמְרָה as a rule, though sometimes דְּבָר is so translated. The Vulgate has *eloquia* for the former, but generally *verbum* for the latter.

Matthew, but is an amplification of it. Moreover, Papias' work was, according to Eusebius, divided into five “books” or sections. Now it is remarkable that our First Gospel shows traces of this division. Thus note the refrain, *And it came to pass when Jesus had fully ended these words*: it comes after the Sermon on the Mount, vii. 28, after the Commission to the Apostles, xi. 1, after the Day of Parables, xiii. 53, at the close of the Galilean ministry, xix. 1, and at the close of the discourse on Mount Olivet, xxvi. 1. It has been argued that we have here indications that the original Aramaic Gospel of Matthew was used as a species of framework by the translator of our First Gospel,<sup>1</sup> and that he added to the Aramaic original the accounts of Our Lord's miracles, of His Infancy, and of His Death and Passion. It has also been pointed out that if our First Gospel is really a translation from Aramaic it shows remarkably few signs of it; it really looks much more like an original Greek composition.<sup>2</sup> It is also remarkable that when speaking of St. Mark's Gospel, Papias seems careful to use quite a different expression to describe its contents, for he says that Mark wrote down “the things either said or done by Christ,” he does not call them “logia.”

We have set forth these points fully because it is evident that if they are solidly based they tend to throw discredit on our First Gospel in its present state, since it will not be the work of St. Matthew, but of someone unknown. In favour, then, of the identity of our First Gospel with the original Aramaic work of Matthew, it must be noted that we have only the fragments of Papias quoted by Eusebius, and that it is, to say the least of it, precarious to attempt to decide on the precise signification he gave to a term unless we know fully the context in which he used it. Now the word “logia” is undoubtedly used by many Greek Fathers as synonymous with Sacred Scripture; thus St. Irenæus<sup>3</sup> uses Papias' own expression, *viz.* “the oracles of the Lord,” and it is indisputable that he thereby understands the Sacred Scriptures as a whole. It is the same with St. Clement of Rome, contemporary with Papias: “You have

<sup>1</sup> See Stapleton Barnes, *J.T.S.* January, 1905, pp. 187 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The same point is raised apropos of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Hær.* I. viii. 1, τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων, *P.G.* VII. 521, 524.

known, nay, thoroughly known, the Sacred Scriptures, and have looked closely into the Divine oracles."<sup>1</sup> It must, moreover, be acknowledged that the complete disappearance of so precious a work as the Aramaic original of the First Gospel is inexplicable, unless it were known to be faithfully preserved in its Greek dress.<sup>2</sup> It should further be noted that the Fathers quoted above, as well as others, use the word "logia" not merely of passages which might more correctly be described as "oracles," *e.g.* Gen. xlix. 10, referred to by Josephus as an "oracle" or "logion,"<sup>3</sup> but also of passages which were purely historical; thus Clement of Alexandria refers to the legendary recovery of the Law by Esdras<sup>4</sup> as "the discovery and restoration of the inspired oracles—*logia*."<sup>5</sup> Nor must we forget the tradition of the Church which has ever regarded our First Gospel as the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic of Matthew; it would demand more solid evidence than that furnished by the questionings of scholars regarding the precise signification which Papias attached to the word "logia" to justify us in rejecting such a tradition. Finally, even if it were proved conclusively that our Greek Gospel is really not the exact equivalent of the Aramaic original, we still have the authority of the Church for the inspiration of this Greek version—and that, after all, is the only thing that really matters.

EARLY CITATIONS OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.—Previous to the time of St. Irenæus, *d.* 202 A.D., the Evangelists are not cited by name; rarely, too, are passages from the Gospels introduced with the formula *as it is written*. Moreover, the early Fathers seem generally to quote from memory, and it is often hard to say—when parallel passages occur in two or more Gospels—whether it is Matthew, Mark, or Luke whom they are quoting. It is of course true, too, that at that early period many spoken utterances of Our Lord must have been in circulation. Hence, when we find the Apostolic Fathers using phrases almost exactly identical with passages from the Gospels, we must not be

<sup>1</sup> *1 Cor.* liii.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian, *de Carne Christi*, xxii. ; *cf. infra*, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Wars*, VI. v. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See the apocryphal 4 *Esdras* xiv. 44-46.

<sup>5</sup> *Strom.* I, 22.

too prompt to urge that we have here proof that they knew our present Gospels. But—with this proviso—we are justified in maintaining that these Apostolic Fathers betray an acquaintance with our Gospels, *even though we may not be able to insist that each individual parallel* is derived from those same Gospels. It goes without saying that the following parallels between the Gospel of St. Matthew and the Apostolic Fathers and their successors must be examined in the Greek text if we would realize their full force :

*Clement of Rome*, 1 Cor. xlvi. 7-8 and Matt. v. 1, vi. 14-15, vii. 12 ; but the likeness to Luke vi. 31, 35-38, should be noted, as well as the fact that the parallels are all together in Luke, whereas they are separated in Matthew. But in the same passage, 1 Cor. xlvi. 7-8, note the rare word *καταποντισθῆ* there used, *cp.* Matt. xviii. 6-7.

*Ignatius of Antioch*, *Smyrn.* i. 1 and Matt. iii. 15 ; *Smyrn.* vi. 1 and Matt. ix. 42 ; *Ephes.* xiv. and Matt. xii. 33 ; *ad Polyc.* i. 1 and Matt. x. 16 ; *Philadel.* iii. 1 and Matt. xv. 13 ; *Trall.* ii. 1 and Matt. xv. 13.

*Polycarp*, *Philip.* ii. and Matt. v. 3, 10, *cp.* also Luke vi. 38 ; *Philip.* vii. and Matt. xxvi. 44.

*Epistle of Barnabas* iv. 14, "Let us take heed lest we be found, AS IT IS WRITTEN : many called, but few chosen," *cp.* Matt. xxii. 14. This is the first occasion on which the expression "as it is written" is used of a portion of the New Testament, *cp. Barn.* v. and Matt. ix. 13. The *Epistle of Barnabas* is referred at the latest to A.D. 120-130.

*Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, in viii. 2 we have the *Lord's Prayer* practically as in Matt. vi. 9-13, and it is introduced by the formula : "neither pray ye as the hypocrites (Matt. vi. 5), but as the Lord in His Gospel bade, so pray"; in i. 2-5 we have a string of precepts taken from the *Sermon on the Mount*; in ver. 5 note the unusual word *ἀγγαρεύω* as in Matt. v. 41.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is full of passages which embody or at least recall Matthew's Gospel, e.g. *Shepherd, Sim.* V. v. 2, *cp.* Matt. xiii. 37. For *Papias* see above.

It is commonly conceded now that *St. Justin* used our present Matthew and Luke as two of his principal sources. That his apparent quotations from the Gospels are really such, and not mere reminiscences of Christ's teaching, is best shown by a comparison between Justin's citations of Messianic texts and Matthew's citations of the same passages. For Matthew often quotes from memory, or at least so paraphrases the original that his quotation follows neither the Hebrew nor the LXX.; the fact, then, that Justin's quotations often agree with those in Matthew would



seem to show that Justin had our present Gospel before him. Thus *cp.* 1 *Apol.* 33 (Isa. vii. 14) with Matt. i. 23; 1 *Apol.* 34 (Mich. v. 2) with Matt. i. 26; *Dial.* 78 (Jer. xxxi. 15) with Matt. ii. 18; 1 *Apol.* xxxv. (Zach. ix. 9) with Matt. xxi. 5, etc.

### C. The Date at which St. Matthew's Gospel was written.

As this question is of great importance it will be well to give the declarations of the early Fathers on the point:

*Clement of Alexandria* is quoted by Eusebius<sup>1</sup> as saying in his *Hypotyposes*, or "Outlines"—a work now lost—that the Gospels containing the Genealogies were written first. *Origen*: "Among the Four Gospels, which are the only indisputable ones in the Church of God under heaven, I have learnt from tradition that the first was written by Matthew."<sup>2</sup> *St. Jerome*: "Matthew . . . first composed the Gospel of Christ, in Judæa, for the Jews of the circumcision who had believed."<sup>3</sup>

*St. Irenæus* has left a declaration on this point, which has been a source of endless controversy. He says:

"After Our Lord had risen from the dead, and they (the Apostles) had been clothed with power from on high by the Holy Spirit that came upon them, and had been filled with all things, and had perfect knowledge, they went forth to the ends of the earth announcing the good tidings from God to us and declaring the peace of heaven to men; and they indeed had all and each of them alike the Gospel of God."

So far we have only the Latin text to guide us, but at this point Eusebius<sup>4</sup> has preserved for us the Greek text of what follows; we translate it literally:

"Matthew indeed among the Hebrews and in their own tongue; and he brought out (with him) the writing of the Gospel when Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the Church. But after their departure Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, he too, having written what was preached by Peter, delivered it to us. So also Luke, the follower of Paul, committed (to writing) in a book

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* VI. xiv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. xxxv. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Vir. Illustr.* III. ; *cf.* St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI. 5; *P.G.* XLI. 894.

<sup>4</sup> *H.E.* V. viii. 2.

the Gospel preached by the latter. Then John, the disciple of the Lord, who also reposed upon His breast, he too published the Gospel when living in Ephesus of Asia."<sup>1</sup>

Irenæus' purpose here is to show how fully equipped were the Apostles for their task: they had the Holy Spirit, and they had each of them the *text* of the Gospels. But he has to explain how it was that each of them had this Gospel text at the time of their dispersion. This he does by showing under what circumstances the individual Gospels were written. Still it must be acknowledged that Irenæus' words are far from plain. In the first place we note the redundant "and."<sup>2</sup> This is passed over in the Latin and English translations of Irenæus and of Eusebius (*H.E.* V. viii. 2), so that Irenæus is made to say that "Matthew published his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome."<sup>3</sup> As St. Paul arrived in Rome at the earliest in A.D. 57-60, this appears an impossible statement. Further, Irenæus seems to say that Mark only wrote "after the departure of Peter and Paul," *i.e.* after their martyrdom in A.D. 64 or 67;<sup>4</sup> and this is emphasised by the Latin version and the ordinary translations, which have "quæ a Petro annunciata erant," whereas the Greek has a *present* participle both here and in the account of St. Luke's Gospel,<sup>5</sup> thus making the preaching contemporary with its committal to writing.

To return to the redundant "and" with which the Greek extract is cumbered. It seems to show that a clause has been omitted, and that the verb of the first clause has vanished. That this is not an impossible supposition will be clear to anyone who reads carefully the chapter of Eusebius' *History* whence this extract is taken, *H.E.* V. viii.; in section 5 in particular we have a very mutilated sentence. We feel justified, then, in inserting some such verb as "wrote," and thus reading, "Matthew indeed *wrote* among the Hebrews, and in their own tongue." We are next faced with the difficulty arising from the word ἐξήνεγκεν, which we have ventured to render "brought out (with him)." According to the above interpretation a verb has to be supplied for the first clause, *viz.* "wrote." But if we are justified in this conjecture, then it is practically impossible to translate ἐξήνεγκεν by "published," as is generally done. The key to the whole passage lies in Irenæus' desire to explain how the Apostles were individually furnished with the Gospel when they separated and "went forth to the ends of the

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hæc.* III. i.

<sup>2</sup> For the Greek text see p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> Schaff and Wace, *Ante- and Post-Nicene Fathers*; Eusebius, *H.E.* V. viii. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The word ἐξοδος, *excessum*, can either be understood literally of their "departure," or metaphorically of their "death." For this latter signification *cf.* *Wisd.* iii. 2, vii. 6; *Luke* ix. 31; 2 *Pet.* i. 15; also St. Cyprian, *Ep.* xxv. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, where the Latin has much more correctly: "quod ab illo prædicabatur Evangelium."

earth." We do not know what Greek word Irenæus used to express this "going forth," the Latin has *exierunt*. But it is to this *exierunt* that Irenæus seems to refer when he says: "But after their departure, ἐξόδον, *excessum*." Thus he would be referring here not to the "departure," i.e. death, of Peter and Paul, but to the "going out" of the Apostles. If this interpretation is justified everything will fall into line. For Irenæus will simply be saying that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Palestine, that he brought it with him when Peter and Paul were at Rome, and that after the separation of the Apostles Mark wrote what Peter was actually preaching. And all this will be in harmony with what Eusebius elsewhere states, viz. that Peter was cognizant of Mark's action, *H.E.* II. xv. 1-2, where he quotes Clement of Alexandria as saying in the *Hypotyposes*: "So greatly did the splendour of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, nor were they content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel; but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease until they had prevailed with him, and had thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark. And they say that Peter, when he had learned through a revelation of the Spirit what had been done, was pleased with their zeal, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the Churches."<sup>1</sup>

Similarly Tertullian, when insisting that the Gospels have Apostolic authority, says:

"The same authority of the Apostolic Churches will afford evidence for the other Gospels also, for we possess these equally through their means and according to their usage—I mean the Gospels of John and Matthew; whilst that which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's, whose interpreter Mark was. Even Luke's form of the Gospel is usually ascribed to Paul; and it may well seem that the works which disciples publish belong to their masters."<sup>2</sup>

These authorities, then, enable us to refer the composition of the First Gospel to a period anterior to the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, which took place either A.D. 64 or 67.<sup>3</sup> An ancient tradition says that the Lord commanded the Apostles not to disperse till the twelfth year

<sup>1</sup> This account is practically taken over by Jerome, *De Viris Illustr* viii., cp. *H.E.* III. xxiv. 14, VI. xiv. 6; for the views of Origen on the point, see *H.E.* VI. xxv. 5; for those of Papias, see *H.E.* III. xxxix. 15. See Chapman, *J.T.S.* July, 1905; but also *R.B.* October, 1911, p. 617; see too *Introduction to the Gospel of St. Mark*.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Marcion.* IV. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See *s.v. N.T. Chronology*.

after His Ascension, *i.e.* about A.D. 41; but it is impossible to trace this tradition further back than the time of Clement of Alexandria, who apparently refers to it when he quotes from *The Preaching of Peter*: "If any one of Israel, then, wishes to repent, and by My Name to believe in God, his sins shall be forgiven him after twelve years.<sup>1</sup> Go forth into the world, that no one may say, We have not heard." Eusebius, too, says<sup>2</sup> that a certain Apollonius, who lived about A.D. 200, testified to the same tradition. If we could pin our faith to this tradition, we could say that the First Gospel was written before A.D. 41, and those of SS. Mark and Luke before A.D. 64 or 67.<sup>3</sup>

As for the present Greek translation of Matthew's Aramaic original, we can only say that the often striking parallels between it and the Greek text of the Apostolic Fathers, *e.g.* the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Teaching of the Twelve* quoted above, show that the translation into Greek was made before the close of the first century. But, as St. Jerome has said, who made it is an open question. It is worth noting that St. Jerome suggests,<sup>4</sup> apropos of Matt. xxviii. 1, that the Greek translator has misunderstood the original Aramaic.

#### D. The Sources used by St. Matthew.

The commonly accepted opinion is, as stated already, that the present Greek Gospel of Matthew is a compilation from the so-called *Logia* collected by Matthew in Aramaic;

<sup>1</sup> *Strom.* VI. 5, *P.G.* IX. 263. The punctuation is doubtful; the stop should apparently come after "forgiven him," not after "twelve years."

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* V. xviii. 13.

<sup>3</sup> See *Expository Times*, July, 1910; Harnack, *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> "Mibi videtur Evangelista Matthæus, qui Evangelium Hebraico sermone conscripsit, non tam *vespere* dixisse, quam *sero*, et eum qui interpretatus est, verbi ambiguitate deceptum, non *sero* interpretatum esse sed *vespere*." *Ep.* cxx. 4, *P.L.* XXII. 988. Elsewhere, *Comment. in Isaiam* xlii. 4, *P.L.* XXIV. 422, he points out a probable omission in Matt. xii. 20 of a clause in Isa. xliii. 4 owing to homoioteleuton, the copyist's eye having presumably passed from the first "judgement" to the second "judgement"; still this might have taken place equally well if the writer were copying the LXX. and not the Hebrew.

these are supposed to have been worked into a framework derived from Mark, and were then rounded off by the insertion of certain details which are at present only found in Matthew in conjunction with Luke, or solely in Matthew. For the question of the *Logia* and their relation to the Greek Matthew see above; for the relation subsisting between Matthew and Luke see *s.v. Synoptic Problem*. But whatever truth there may be in these theories, it is possible to indicate certain other "sources" from which Matthew drew, *e.g.* the Old Testament, which he quotes copiously. Again, it is a commonplace that Luke drew his knowledge of the events detailed in chaps. i. and ii. from the Blessed Virgin, see *Introduction to the Gospel according to St. Luke*; but it should at the same time be conceded that an impartial study of Matt. i. and ii. shows us that the author was as much indebted to St. Joseph as Luke was to the Blessed Virgin. Whether the material common to Matthew and Luke, *e.g.* the story of the centurion, Matt. viii. 5-13, Luke vii. 1-10, the account of the two who would follow Christ, Matt. viii. 18-22, Luke ix. 57-60, etc., as also certain longer passages, *e.g.* the *Sermon on the Mount* and the *Discourse about the Last Things*, as well as many lesser "sayings" by Christ, is due to Matthew's dependence on Luke, or to Luke's acquaintance with Matthew, or to their mutual dependence on common oral tradition, will perhaps never be finally settled. Matthew's genealogical table shows that he had access either to family records<sup>1</sup> or possibly to State archives.<sup>2</sup>

### E. Linguistic Features of the Gospel.

Matthew has certain characteristic expressions, as is only to be expected. Thus note his constant use of the Greek *τότε*, or "then," as an opening formula, also his use of the verb *προσερχέσθαι*, which occurs more often in Matthew than in all the rest of N.T. It is the same with the opening

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* VI. xxxi. 1-7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tertullian, *Scorpiae*, xv., *P.L.* II. 151; *Apologeticus*, xxi., *P.L.* I. 401. For these Genealogies see St. Justin, *Dial.* xxiii., etc.; also Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion*, III. xx. and IV. 1; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, II. 32; St. Augustine, *Sermon LI.*; also *R.B.* July, 1911 p. 443; and *Expository Times*, August, 1906, and February, 1913.

formula ἰδοὺ, “behold,” which occurs close upon fifty times. The phrases, “the kingdom of heaven,” “your Father in heaven,” are equally characteristic; for the former Luke and Mark generally have “the kingdom of God.”

## F. The Historical Trustworthiness of Matthew's Gospel.

i. In General.—In his dispute with St. Augustine, Faustus the Manichee maintained that Matthew was not to be believed when declaring that Christ had said that He came not to destroy the Law, but to establish it (v. 17). For he argued that at the time the *Sermon on the Mount* was delivered only Peter, Andrew, James, and John, were present, the rest—including Matthew—had not yet received their call; that, moreover, John, who also wrote a Gospel, nowhere tells us that Christ made this declaration; while Matthew, it must be confessed, wrote long after the event. Indeed, so Faustus urged, the First Gospel was not written by Matthew at all, for in his account of Matthew's call, ix. 9, the writer does not say: “He saw *me*, and called *me*,” but makes use of the third person, as though desirous to show that the writer was not Matthew himself.

Augustine prefaces his answer by remarking that it is absurd to prefer the testimony of Manichæus to that of Matthew, since

“if Matthew is not to be credited merely on the ground that he was not present on the occasion when he says that Christ declared that He had not come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to establish them, neither can anyone say that Manichæus was present when Christ appeared amongst men—in fact, he was not even born!”

And Augustine continues:

“Now we do not say that Manichæus is not to be believed simply because he was not present when Christ was working and discoursing, and was indeed only born long after. But we do maintain that Manichæus is not to be believed because he speaks of Christ in a fashion contrary to that employed by Christ's disciples, and contrary also to the tone employed in the Gospel which is established by their authority. . . . If none could tell the truth about Christ save those who were present and saw Him and heard Him, then nowadays none could tell us the truth about Him. Moreover, if to-day the faithful are truthfully taught about Christ simply because those who saw and



heard Him have, by preaching or writing, spread abroad the truth concerning Him, why should not Matthew have been able to learn the truth about Christ from his fellow-disciple John on occasions when John was present and Matthew absent? For from John's volume we can learn the truth about Christ; and not only we who were born so much later, but also those who are to come after us and who are not born yet. It is for this reason that the Gospels, not only of Matthew, but of Luke and Mark, who followed these same disciples, are accorded an authority not unequal to that of John. Further still, the Lord Himself could have told Matthew what He had done amongst those disciples whom He had called before His call of Matthew." <sup>1</sup>

Principles are here invoked which are too frequently disregarded by modern critics.

ii. **Recent Views.**—The main grounds for impugning the historicity of our first Gospel may be summarized as follows: (a) Matthew wrote in Hebrew, but that Hebrew—or rather Aramaic—text no longer exists; we only possess a Greek translation by an unknown author. (b) It is uncertain when this translation was made, perhaps as late as the second century. (c) The work is a compilation from the so-called *Logia* attributed to Matthew the Apostle, as well as from the second Gospel, attributed to Mark, though it is uncertain whether we have even Mark's Gospel as he wrote it. (d) Matthew's whole arrangement, as the first Gospel now stands, shows that he merely collected parables, miracles, discourses, etc., and welded them into a narrative which has no claims to originality.

This constitutes a formidable indictment. But in the first place there exists no positive argument for referring the Greek translation to the second century; it would be difficult, it is true, to find any positive quotation of it in the first century, but though the allusions contained in the extant works of the Apostolic Fathers do not amount to quotation, and may possibly be explicable as echoes of oral tradition, yet the one sentence in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, where a passage found in Matthew is quoted under the formula *as it is written*, must always be taken into account. It is at least remarkable that Matthew in Greek should agree so closely with Mark and Luke, and yet at the same time differ from them in so many particulars and show so

<sup>1</sup> *Contra Faustum*, XVII. iii., P.L. XLII. 341.

independent a spirit, if it is nothing but a plagiarism on them. It is still more remarkable that in early Patristic Commentaries on the first Gospel no trace should exist of doubts as to its conformity with the original, even though St. Jerome does in one place suggest that perhaps the translator did not understand the Aramaic original which he rendered *vespere*.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a study of the existing first Gospel will show that it savours rather of the middle than of the close of the first century. For the Saviour of the world is depicted therein as a person who has not yet passed into the realm of history. He is nowhere spoken of, as in Luke, for example, as “the Lord.” What is recorded of Him has but just taken place: He has only recently “walked amongst men”; He has but just now died, been buried, and risen from the tomb. When we pass to Luke’s narrative we are in quite another world. A halo is already cast round the central Figure. As regards the question of the *Logia*, it cannot be too strongly insisted that the basis for this view is of the slightest; it rests on nothing more than a possible interpretation of a fragmentary passage from Papias. The pretended “lack of originality” in our First Gospel is but the corollary of the preceding statement about the *Logia*; it stands or falls with it.

iii. *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*.—We saw above that St. Jerome in his account of St. Matthew<sup>2</sup> said that “the Hebrew text is still preserved in the library at Cæsarea . . . and I myself had an opportunity of copying it afforded me by the Nazarenes of Berœa in Syria who use this edition (*volumine*).” At first sight it might seem as though Jerome really held that this Hebrew text at Cæsarea and in the possession of the Nazarenes was the original Gospel composed by Matthew. He frequently refers to it, and, as his remarks are often conflicting, it is difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding his real opinion on the subject. Thus he speaks of this Gospel as “that according to the Hebrews”;<sup>3</sup> he says it is that “used by the Nazarenes.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, note on p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 170; *De Viris Illustr.* III., P.L. XXIII. 613.

<sup>3</sup> *Viris Illustr.* II. and XVI.; in *Isaiam* xi. 2; in *Matt.* xxvii. 16 and 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Pelag.* III. 2, P.L. XXIII. 570, etc.

He himself translated it into Greek and Latin.<sup>1</sup> Thus St. Jerome had a first-hand acquaintance with this work, and quotes it often as containing passages not found in the Greek *Matthew*.<sup>2</sup> But when he speaks of this Hebrew edition as "*ipsum Hebraicum*,"<sup>3</sup> when he says that the Nazarene and Ebionitic Gospel which he has recently translated from Hebrew into Greek *vocatur a plerisque Matthæi authenticum*,<sup>4</sup> he would appear to be using the word *authenticum* in a peculiar sense. For had he really held that this Nazarene Gospel *according to the Hebrews* was really the original Hebrew text of *Matthew*, he would not have merely alluded to the divergences existing between it and the Greek text in his *Commentary*, he would have urged them as authentic. At the same time Jerome seems convinced that the Hebrew original of *Matthew* did exist in his time, *i.e.* not Matthew's autograph, but a copy of it made by St. Bartholomew, and brought by Pantænus from India.<sup>5</sup> This may have been the copy preserved in the library at Cæsarea. But the precise relationship existing between this copy and those possessed by the Nazarenes of Syria is not discussed by Jerome; they vaunted their copy as "authentic." Jerome nowhere confirms this view, but neither does he deny it. He seems content to record certain divergent readings contained in it, and it must be presumed that he regarded these simply as excrescences. That he held to the existence of "a fifth Gospel," as Theodore of Mopsuestia maintained,<sup>6</sup> is an absurd conclusion. The work interested him sufficiently to make him translate it, though, as Origen must presumably have had a Greek translation of it,<sup>7</sup> it is hard to believe that Jerome had in

<sup>1</sup> *Viris Illustr.* II. ; *Adv. Pelag.* III. 2 ; in *Mich.* VII. 7, P.L. XXV. 1221 ; in *Matt.* XII. 13.

<sup>2</sup> In *Isaiam* xi. 2 ; in *Ephes.* v. 4 ; in *Matt.* xxvii. 16, 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Viris Illustr.* III.

<sup>4</sup> In *Matt.* xii. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *Viris Illustr.* XXXVI.

<sup>6</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 177. The same charge was made by Julian the Pelagian ; see St. Augustine, *Opus Imperfectum contra Julianum*, IV. 88, P.L. XXXIX. 1389.

<sup>7</sup> *Viris Illustr.* II. The best summary of St. Jerome's statements on this Gospel is to be found in his own words when writing against the Pelagians : " In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which, though composed in the Chaldaic and Syrian tongue, is yet written in Hebrew

view anything more than practice in translating from Hebrew or Aramaic.

## G. Divisions and Analysis of the Gospel.

### DIVISIONS OF THE GOSPEL.

Broadly speaking the Gospel falls into the following divisions:

- I—IV. 11. The preparation for the ministry.
- IV. 12—XVIII. The Galilean ministry.
- XIX—XXV. The Peræan and Jerusalem ministry.
- XXVI—XXVIII. The Trial, Passion, Death, and Resurrection.

When, however, we attempt to break up the Gospel according to any scheme of development on the part of the Evangelist, we find it difficult absolutely to justify all the details of any systematic scheme. Still Matthew's theme was “of the King and of His Kingdom,” and from this standpoint we may suggest the following divisions:

- I—II. The Birth of the King.
- III—IV. 11. The immediate preparation of the Kingdom.
- IV. 12—XVI. 12. The works and signs of the Kingdom.
- XVI. 13—XX. 28. The founding of the Church which is His Kingdom on earth.
- XX. 29—XXV. The triumph of the King; His rejection by the Jews.
- XXVI—XXVII. The Humiliation of the King.
- XXVIII. The Glory of the King.

The Chronological division of the First Gospel is by no means easy. It must suffice to point out here that with the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves for Five Thousand as coinciding with what was perhaps the third Passover<sup>1</sup> during Our Lord's public ministry, and with the probable identification of the incident of the cornfield,

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characters, which the Nazarenes use to this day, (which is the Gospel) according to the Apostles, or, as many hold, according to Matthew, and which is in the library at Cæsarea. . . .” *Dial. Adv. Pelagianos*. III. 2, P.L. XXIII. 570; cf. *H.E.* IV. xxii. 7; Origen, *Tom. II.* 6 in *Joan*: P.G. XIV. 132. See *R.B.* October, 1912; *J.T.S.* April, 1905.

<sup>1</sup> See *s.v.* *N.T. Chronology*.

xii. 1-9, with what would then be the second Passover, we can divide the Gospel chronologically as follows :

I—IV. 13. Period previous to the first Passover, *cf.* John ii. 13.

IV. 13—XI. 30. The interval between the first and second Passovers.

XII. 1—XIV. 12. The interval between the second and third Passovers.

XIV. 13—XXVI. 1. The interval between the third and fourth Passovers.

But we must not therefore suppose that Matthew has placed in those intervals only the events which properly belonged to them chronologically. This will be clearer when we have mastered the **Aim and Scope of the Gospel**. Matthew was "a Hebrew of the Hebrews," and, as St. Jerome has told us, and as is evident from the contents of his Gospel, he wrote essentially for the Jews themselves. This will be evident from the following facts :

1. He has between sixty and seventy quotations of the Old Testament ; whereas the remaining three Evangelists together only quote the Old Testament some fifty times. Mark and Luke, indeed, as a rule only give quotations which occur in Our Lord's discourses, they themselves do not argue from the Old Testament.

2. He rarely explains Jewish terms, *e.g.* *Raca*, v. 22, *Corbona*, xxvii. 6 ; but *cf.* "gift," xv. 5-6, and Mark vii. 11, *corban*.

3. He does not trouble to explain, as Luke so constantly does, Palestinian geographical terms, but speaks simply of "His own city," ix. 1, "His own country," xiii. 54.

4. He repeatedly dwells on Our Lord's denunciations of the Pharisees and the Jewish leaders, *e.g.* chaps. xii., xvi., xxii., xxiii.

5. In his genealogy of Our Lord he goes no further back than Abraham, i. 1-2, unlike St. Luke who goes back to God, iii. 38.

6. He has no account of the mission of the seventy-two disciples, *cf.* Luke x.

7. And all this accords with the picture of Christ which Matthew has drawn for us. His aim is to prove that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messias, *viz.* the Christ or the "anointed," and that His Kingdom is the Church which He founded. It is in this way that the ancient prophecies find their

fulfilment. Consequently Matthew quotes at least twenty clear Messianic prophecies from the Old Testament. Indeed these prophecies must have formed the staple of all the early Apostolic preaching, *cf.* Acts xiii. 23, 32, xvii. 3, xviii. 5, 28, etc.

But while thus proving that Jesus is really the long-expected Messiah, Matthew has to explain how it came to pass that the Jews, for whom primarily He came on earth, have rejected Him, *cf.* John vii. 26. The explanation lies in the words of John xii. 37-43, *they loved the glory of men more than the glory of God*; hence it is that Matthew insists so strongly on the opposition of the Pharisees and chief priests to Christ's teaching.

The *First Gospel*, then, has an apologetic aim,<sup>1</sup> and this fact must be kept in view when we endeavour to analyze it and ascertain the order and sequence of events which the Evangelist has followed. His aim may be described as threefold. He has to prove that Jesus is the Christ, that the Church is His Kingdom, and that the Pharisees naturally rejected Him, being blinded by prejudice. Bearing this threefold aim in view we may divide the Gospel as follows:

I—IV. 11. The preparation.

IV. 12—XIV. 12. Christ's public life as indicating this threefold end.

XIV. 13—XX. 28. The last year of His public life, a period devoted to the preparation of the Apostles as the foundation on which the Church was built, *cf.* Ephes. ii. 19-22.

XX. 29—XXVIII. 20. His final rejection of the Synagogue which has rejected Him.

In accordance with this threefold end Matthew has presented us with various pictures of Christ; throughout as the King, *cf.* the Psalms of the King, *e.g.* xci-xcviii.; also as The Great Teacher, in the Sermon on the Mount, v-vii.; and as the Great Wonderworker, viii-ix. 34. With this

<sup>1</sup> Thus note Tertullian's words: "Men may obliterate the testimony of the devils who proclaimed Jesus to be the Son of David; but whatever unworthiness there may be in this testimony, men will never be able to efface that of the Apostles. First of all we have Matthew, that most faithful chronicler of the Gospel, since he was the companion of the Lord. For no other reason in the world than to show us clearly the fleshly origin of Christ, he begins his Gospel thus: 'the Book of the generation of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham,' " *De Carne Christi*, xxii.



end in view he has grouped together—in the Sermon on the Mount—points in our Lord's teaching, points which are found scattered throughout Luke's Gospel, *e.g.* chap. vi. and chap. xii. He has also grouped together the miracles, viii-ix. 34 ; and especially the parables, xiii. To do this Matthew has had, of course, to desert the chronological order, but we should have an altogether false idea of the Evangelists if we mentally compared them to writers of history in the twentieth century. The Evangelists proceeded on different lines and wrote as Orientals write, *i.e.* without that minute attention to details of order to which we in the West are accustomed.

## ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL.

### A. I—II. THE BIRTH AND THE INFANCY OF CHRIST.

- (a) The Genealogy of Christ, i. 1-17.
- (b) The Conception of Christ ; Joseph's doubts, i. 18-25.
- (c) The Birth of Christ ; the visit of the Wise men, ii. 1-12.
- (d) The Flight into Egypt ; the murder of the Innocents, ii. 13-18.
- (e) The return to Nazareth during the reign of Archelaus, ii. 19-23.

### B. III—IV. 11. THE PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTRY.

- (a) The Preaching of John the Baptist, iii. 1-12.
- (b) The Baptism of Christ, iii. 13-17.
- (c) The Temptation of Christ, iv. 1-11.

### C. IV. 12—VII. 27. THE OPENING OF THE PUBLIC MINISTRY, FROM THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE BAPTIST TO THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

- (a) On the Baptist's imprisonment Christ retires to Galilee and Nazareth ; He dwells in Capernaum and preaches, iv. 12-17.
- (b) The call of Simon and Andrew, of James and John, iv. 18-22.
- (c) A missionary circuit in Galilee, iv. 23-25.
- (d) The Sermon on the Mount, v-vii.
  - (1) The Beatitudes, v. 1-12.
  - (2) Comparison between the Old and the New Law, v. 13-48.
  - (3) Single-mindedness in prayer and fasting, vi. 1-23.
  - (4) Dependence on God alone, vi. 24-34.
  - (5) Warnings against hypocrisy, vii. 1-5.
  - (6) On prayer, vii. 6-12.
  - (7) The narrow way, vii. 13-14.
  - (8) Beware of false prophets, vii. 15-20.

(9) Be ye doers of the word, vii. 21-23.

(10) The concluding parable: the doers of His word are likened to men who have built their house on the rock and not on the sand, vii. 24-27.

#### D. VIII—IX. FROM THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT TO THE CALL AND COMMISSION OF THE TWELVE.

(a) He heals a leper, viii. 1-4.

(b) In Capharnaum He heals the centurion's servant who is lying sick at a distance, viii. 5-13.

(c) He heal's Peter's wife's mother of a fever, viii. 14-15.

(d) He works many cures, viii. 16-17.

(e) Because of the multitude He gives orders to cross over the water, *i.e.* to the east side of the Sea of Galilee; two aspirants come and offer themselves to Him; they enter the boat, the storm is stilled, viii. 18-27.

(f) They arrive at Gerasa, where He liberates two men who are possessed; the devils enter into a herd of swine, which at once rush into the sea and are drowned; the Gerasenes beg Him to withdraw, viii. 18-34.

(g) He crosses back to the west side; cures a man sick of the palsy; the Scribes condemn Him in their hearts, v-ix. 1-8.

(h) He calls Levi (Matthew); a supper is made Him in the house (of Levi), many publicans and sinners sit down with Him, at which the Pharisees are scandalized, ix. 10-13.

(i) The question of fasting is raised by the disciples of John; He explains why His disciples do not fast at present; two parables—the patch on the old garment, the new wine in old bottles—illustrate His teaching, ix. 14-17.

(j) He goes to raise the daughter of a ruler (Jairus); on the way a woman who is afflicted with an issue of blood is healed by touching His garment, ix. 18-26.

(k) He heals two blind men in the house, ix. 27-31.

(l) He heals a possessed dumb man; the Pharisees say that He does so by the power of Beelzebub, ix. 32-34.

(m) A missionary circuit accompanied by many cures; they are told to pray for fresh labourers for the harvest, ix. 35-38.

#### E. X—XVI. 12. FROM THE CALL OF THE TWELVE TO THE CONFESSION OF ST. PETER.

(a) The names of the Twelve: His commission to them, x. 1—xi. 1.

(b) The message of St. John the Baptist from his prison, xi. 2-7.

(c) Christ's testimony to the Baptist, xi. 8-19.

(d) He upbraids Corozain, Bethsaida, and Capharnaum for that they have not done penance at His preaching, xi. 25-30.

(e) His prayer of thanksgiving to His Heavenly Father; the invitation: *Come to Me all ye that labour*, xi. 25-30.

(f) The disciples in the cornfield on the Sabbath-day; probably the second Passover in His public life, see Luke vi. 1; the opposition of the Pharisees, xii. 1-8.

(g) He heals a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath-day. Renewed opposition of the Pharisees, xii. 914.

(h) He therefore retires, but works many cures which, however, He desires should remain hidden, xii. 15-21.

(i) He heals a man who is blind and dumb; the amazement of the people; the Pharisees again say that He cures by the power of Beelzebub; He retorts, and warns them touching blasphemy against the Holy Spirit: *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh*, xii. 22-37.

(j) The Scribes and Pharisees seek a sign; none shall be given save that of Jonas; the Ninivites and the Queen of Sheba shall rise against them in judgment since they did penance and the latter at least venerated Solomon, whereas *a greater than Solomon is here*; He illustrates their state by the parable of the man from out of whom an unclean spirit is cast, but who goes and *takes to himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself*, xii. 38-45.

(k) His Mother and His brethren stand without, seeking Him; *whosoever shall do the will of My Father that is in heaven, he is My brother and sister and mother*, xii. 46-50.

(l) *The Day of Parables*, xiii. 1-53.

(1) *The Sower*, xiii. 1-9.

(2) He explains to the disciples why He speaks in parables, and gives them an explanation of that of the Sower, xiii. 10-23.

(3) *The Cockle*, xiii. 24-30.

(4) *The Mustard Seed*, xiii. 31-32.

(5) *The Leaven*, xiii. 33.

(6) He explains the parable of the Cockle, xiii. 36-42.

(7) Other parables: the *Treasure*, the *Pearl*, the *Net*, xiii. 44-50.

(8) Conclusion regarding the teaching by parables, xiii. 51-52.

(m) He visits Nazareth; is rejected, xiii. 53-58.

(n) Herod's fear; the story of the martyrdom of John the Baptist, xiv. 1-12.

(o) Jesus retires by boat to a desert place, and there He multiplies the loaves for 5000 men, xiv. 13-21.

(p) He prays in solitude; He walks on the sea, Peter does the same but loses heart; the adverse wind ceases, they adore Him: *Indeed Thou art the Son of God*, xiv. 22-33.

(q) They come to the land of Genesar, where He works many cures, xiv. 34-36.

(r) The Scribes and the Pharisees attack Him on the subject of His desertion of their traditions; His teaching, both to them and apart to the disciples, on what defiles a man, xv. 1-20.

(s) He retires to Tyre and Sidon, and there cures the daughter of the woman of Syro-Phœnicia, xv. 21-28.

(t) He returns to the Sea of Galilee, and there He multiplies the loaves for 4000 men; He then comes by boat to Magedan, xv. 29-39.

(u) The Pharisees and Sadducees again demand a sign; none shall be given save that of Jonas, xvi. 1-4.

(v) They again cross the water ; on the way He warns them against the leaven of the Pharisees ; He upbraids them for their want of faith, and reminds them of the miracles in favour of the 5000 and 4000 men, xvi. 5-12.

#### F. XVI. 13—XVIII. 35. FROM THE CONFESSION OF ST. PETER TO THE CLOSE OF THE GALILEAN MINISTRY.

(a) At Cæsarea-Philippi ; St. Peter's Confession. The promise made to him ; the power of binding and loosing is conferred upon him, xvi. 13-20.

(b) The first prediction of the Sacred Passion ; His rebuke to St. Peter, xvi. 21-28.

(c) The Transfiguration, xvii. 1-13.

(d) The cure of the lunatic boy, xvii. 14-20.

(e) In Galilee, the second prediction of the Passion, xvii. 21-22.

(f) The question of the tribute ; the miraculous finding of the stater wherewith Peter is to pay *for Me and thee*, xvii. 23-26.

(g) The Apostles dispute as to which will be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven ; He sets a little child in their midst and gives them a lesson in humility. He warns them against scandals, though these must needs come. On hell-fire. The parable of the hundred sheep, xviii. 1-14.

(h) The obdurate brother is to be referred to the Church ; on the power of binding and loosing. On the efficacy of united prayer, xviii. 15-20.

(i) Peter asks how often he is to forgive one who offends him ? The parable of the unmerciful servant illustrates our Lord's answer, xviii. 21-35.

#### G. XIX. 1—XX. 16. THE PREACHING IN PERÆA.

(a) The Pharisees attack Him on the question of divorce ; His reply to them, and apart to the disciples, xix. 1-12.

(b) Little children are brought to Him, xix. 13-15.

(c) The rich young man, xix. 16-22.

(d) Lessons on the danger of riches, xix. 23-26.

(e) Peter urges that they at least have *left all things and followed Him* ; the promise of the hundredfold to all who do the same, xix. 27-30.

(f) This doctrine is illustrated by the parable of the *Labourers in the vineyard*, xx. 1-16.

#### H. XX. 17—XXV. 46. THE FINAL STAGE IN THE JOURNEY TOWARDS JERUSALEM ; THE FIRST THREE DAYS OF HOLY WEEK.

(a) The last stage ; the third prediction of the Passion, xx. 17-19.

(b) The petition of the mother of the sons of Zebedee, xx. 20-23.

(c) Lessons in humility, xx. 24-28.

(d) The cure of two blind men as He goes out from Jericho, xx. 29-34.

(e) The triumphal entry into the city on Palm Sunday, xxi. 1-11.  
 (f) He cleanses the temple, xxi. 12-13.  
 (g) He works miracles in the temple; the indignation of the priests, xxi. 14-16.

(h) He retires to Bethany; on the following morning He curses the barren fig-tree which at once withers away. Lessons on the need of faith, xxi. 17-22.

(i) The discussion in the temple; the Chief Priests and Elders ask Him: *By what authority dost Thou these things?* He retorts with a question about the baptism of John, xxi. 23-27.

(1) He proposes to them the parable of the *Two Sons*, and applies it, xxi. 28-32.

(2) Also the parable of the *Husbandmen in the vineyard*, xxi. 33-41.

(3) He applies the parable to them: *The stone which the builders rejected . . .*; their anger is only restrained by their fear of the multitude, xxi. 42-46.

(4) A further parable: *The marriage-feast of the King's Son*, xxi. 1-14.

(5) The Pharisees endeavour to ensnare Him; they send the Herodians, who propose the question about *Tribute to Cæsar*, xxii. 15-22.

(6) Then come the Sadducees with a question about *the resurrection*, xxii. 23-33.

(7) The Pharisees then send a Doctor of the Law to ask: *Which is the greatest commandment?* xxii. 34-40.

(8) Christ now asks the Pharisees in what sense *the Messiah is the Son of David?* xxii. 41-46.

(j) He pronounces terrible woes upon the Scribes and Pharisees, xxiii. 1-36.

(k) He laments the obduracy of Jerusalem, xxiii. 37-39.

(l) On leaving the temple He goes to Mount Olivet and foretells the destruction of the city and the signs that shall precede the Last Things, xxiv. 1-51.

(m) He also sets forth the parable of *The Ten Virgins*, xxv. 1-13: *Watch ye therefore for ye know not the day nor the hour*, xxv. 1-13.

(n) Also the parable of *The Talents*, xxv. 14-30.

(o) He describes *The Last Judgment*, xxv. 31-46.

## J. XXVI—XXVII. THE STORY OF THE SACRED PASSION.

(a) Two days before the Passover; the priests plot against Him; a supper is made Him in the house of Simon the Leper at Bethany; a woman anoints Him, xxvi. 1-13.

(b) Judas sells Him to the priests, xxvi. 14-16.

(c) The Last Supper, xxvi. 17-27.

(d) On the way to Gethsemane He foretells Peter's denials of Him, xxvi. 30-35.

(e) The Agony in the Garden, xxvi. 36-46.

(f) The arrest, xxvi. 47-56.

- (g) He is brought before Caiaphas ; the mocking, xxvi. 67-68.
- (h) Peter denies Him thrice, xxvi. 69-75.
- (i) The Council sends Him to Pilate, xxvii. 1-2.
- (j) Judas' vain repentance, xxvii. 3-10.
- (k) He stands before Pilate ; Barabbas is preferred before Him ; He is scourged and condemned to death, xxvii. 11-26.
- (l) He is crowned with thorns, xxvii. 27-31.
- (m) He is nailed to the Cross ; the bystanders mock Him in His agony ; He dies, xxvii. 32-50.
- (n) The veil of the temple is rent ; the graves are opened ; the centurion confesses : *Indeed this was the Son of God* ; the Holy Women who had stood by, xxvii. 51-56.
- (o) Joseph of Arimathea takes Him down from the Cross ; the burial, xxvii. 57-61.
- (p) The Chief Priests and the Pharisees obtain from Pilate leave to set guards about the tomb, xxvii. 62-66.

### K. XXVIII. THE RESURRECTION.

- (a) Mary Magdalen and “ the other Mary ” visit the Sepulchre ; the earthquake ; the descent of the Angel ; the terror of the guards ; *He will go before you into Galilee, there you shall see Him*, xxviii. 1-7.
- (b) As they go out from the Sepulchre Jesus meets them ; *Go tell My brethren that they go into Galilee, there they shall see Me*, xxviii. 8-10.
- (c) The Chief Priests bribe the guards to keep silence, xxviii. 11-15.
- (d) The Eleven disciples go to Galilee ; Jesus appears to them ; some doubted ; His final commission to them : *Going . . . teach ye all nations . . . and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world*, xxviii. 16-20.

### H. Passages Peculiar to St. Matthew.

#### MIRACLES.

The two blind men, ix. 27-31.

The finding of the stater, xvii. 24-27.

The healing of the man blind and dumb, xii. 22-23.

St. Peter walking on the water, xiv. 28-33.

Besides these there occur various general references to a number of miracles which Christ worked ; *e.g.* xiv. 35-6 xv. 30 ; xxi. 14.

#### PARABLES.

The cockle, xiii. 24-30.

The treasure, xiii. 44.

The pearl, xiii. 45-6.

The draw-net, xiii. 47-50.

The unmerciful servant, xviii. 23-35.



- The labourers in the vineyard, xx. 1-16.
- The two sons, xxi. 28-32.
- The wedding-feast of the king's son, xxii. 1-14.
- The ten virgins, xxv. 1-13.
- The ten talents, xxv. 14-130.

#### VARIOUS DISCOURSES OF OUR LORD.

- The greater portion of the Sermon on the Mount.  
v-vii.
- Come to Me all ye that labour . . .*, xi. 28-30.
- Every idle word . . .*, xii. 36-7.
- Thou art Peter . . .*, xvi. 17-19.
- The denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees as a  
connected account, xxiii.
- The description of the last judgment, xxv. 31-46.
- The final commission to the Apostles, xxviii. 18-20.

#### HISTORICAL PORTIONS FOUND ONLY IN MATTHEW.

- Practically the whole of the narrative of the infancy  
of our Lord, i-ii.
- That the Pharisees and Sadducees had some of  
them been baptized by John, iii. 7.
- Judas' compact for thirty pieces of silver, xxvi. 14-16.
- The dream of Pilate's wife, xxvii. 19.
- The apparition of the saints, xxvii. 52.
- The narrative of the guards at the Sepulchre,  
xxvii. 62-66.
- Their bribe to secure silence, xxviii. 11-15.
- The earthquake, xxviii. 2.

### J. The Theology of the Gospel.

#### *God and the Father.*

God alone is Good, xix. 17; He is able to raise up children to Abraham of the stones, iii. 9; He clothes the lilies, vi. 30; His power, xxvi. 64; the Living God, xvi. 16, xxvi. 63; the God of the living, xxii. 32; has joined people in matrimony, xix. 6; the way of God, xxii. 16; the God of Israel, xv. 31; the commandment of God, xv. 3, 6; the Temple is the House of God, xii. 4, xxi. 12, 13, xxvii. 40; heaven is His throne, v. 34, xxiii. 22; the Spirit of God, iii. 16, xii. 28; the clean of heart shall see God, v. 8; the children of God, v. 9; the Kingdom of God, vi. 33, xii. 28, xxi. 31, 43; the Kingdom of heaven, preached by the Baptist, iii. 1; by Christ, iv. 17, v. 3, 10, 19,

20, vii. 21, viii. 11, x. 7, xi. 11, 12, xiii. 11, 24, 31, 33, 38, 43, 44, 45, 47, 52, xviii. 23, xx. 1, xxii. 2, xxv. 1; we cannot serve God and Mammon, vi. 24; the love of God, xxii. 37; the Lord spoke by the Prophets, i. 22, ii. 15; the Angel of the Lord, i. 24, ii. 13, 19, xxviii. 2; the Angels of God, xxii. 30; Christ speaks of "My Father," xii. 50, xxv. 34, xxvi. 29, 39, 42, 53; of "My God," xxvii. 46; of "My Father in heaven," vii. 21, x. 33, xv. 13, xvi. 17, xviii. 10, 19, 35; of the Kingdom of My Father, xxvi. 29; the Father sent the Son, xv. 24; the Father is Lord of heaven . . . earth, xi. 25; has hidden things from the wise and revealed them to the simple, xi. 25; He has delivered all to the Son, xi. 27; the mutual knowledge of the Father and the Son, xi. 27, *cf.* xx. 23, xxiv. 36; Christ trusted in God, xxvii. 43; He always does the will of His Father, xii. 50; the will of your Father, xviii. 14; your Father who seeth in secret, vi. 4, 6, 18; your Father in heaven, v. 16, 45, 48, vi. 1, 14, vii. 11; your Father knoweth your needs, vi. 8, 32; your Father will forgive, vi. 14-15; your Father gives good things, vii. 11; the Spirit of your Father, x. 20; no sparrow falls without your Father, x. 29; the *Kingdom* of their Father, xiii. 43; the glory of the Father, xvi. 27; the prayer "Our Father," vi. 9; the children of the *Kingdom*, viii. 12, xiii. 38; the Gospel of the Kingdom, xxiv. 14; the Kingdom of the Son, xvi. 28, xx. 21; the keys of the Kingdom, xvi. 19; the Kingdom of heaven is for children, xix. 14; it is not for the rich save with difficulty, xix. 23-24; its door is shut by the Scribes, xxiii. 13; who is the greatest in the Kingdom? xviii. 1, 4.

### *The Christology.*

*Christ*, i. 16, 17, 18, ii. 4, xvi. 16, xxiii. 10, xxvi. 63, 68; Jesus Christ, i. 1, xvi. 20; Jesus, i. 16, 21, 25, ii. 1; "Jesus the Galilean," xxvi. 69; "Jesus that is called Christ," xxvii. 17, 22; He is the *Son of God*, ii. 15, iii. 17, iv. 3, 6, viii. 29, xiv. 33, xxi. 6, xxvi. 63, xxvii. 40, 43, 54, xxviii. 19; "My Father," vii. 21, x. 32, 33, xi. 25-27, xii. 50, xv. 13, xvi. 17, xviii. 10, 19, 25, xx. 23, xxv. 34, xxvi. 29, 39, 42, 53; "My Beloved Son," iii. 17; the *Son of Man*, xii. 8, xiii. 37, 41, xvi. 27-28, xvii. 9, 12, 21, xix. 28, xx. 18, xxiv. 30, 37, 39, 44, xxv. 31, xxvi. 2, 24, 45, 64; all things are delivered to Him by the Father, xi. 27; He cast out devils by the Spirit of God, xii. 28; His Name is Emmanuel, i. 23; "His Mother," i. 18, ii. 11, 14, 20, 21, xiii. 55; the Son of David, i. 1, ix. 27, xx. 30, 31, xxi. 9, 15, xxii. 42-45; King of the Jews, ii. 2, xxvii. 11, 29, 37; King of Israel, xxvii. 42; a Nazarite, ii. 23; the carpenter's son, xiii. 55; His brethren and His sisters, xiii. 55-56; of Nazareth of Galilee, xxi. 11, xxvi. 71; He is baptized, iii. 16; the Holy Spirit descends on Him, iii. 16; He is led by the Spirit into the desert, iv. 1; He is the fulfilment of prophecy, i. 23, ii. 6, 15, 18, iii. 3, iv. 15-16, viii. 17, xi. 5, xxvi. 56; is greater than Jonas, xii. 41, than Solomon, xii. 42; is sent by His Father, xv. 24; the will of His Father, vii. 21, xii. 50; foretells His Passion, xvi. 21, xvii. 11, 21, xx. 18, xxvi. 2, 24, 45; is transfigured, xvii. 1-9; shall rise again, xvi. 21, xvii. 9, 22, xx. 19; is a Prophet, xxi. 11, 46; a King, xxv. 34; Lord of the Sabbath, xii. 8; "one is your Master, Christ," xxiii. 10, *cf.*

xxvi. 18; the temple is His house, xxi. 13; the Angels are His, xxiv. 31; His time is at hand, xxi. 18; He taught the way of God in truth and with no respect of persons, xxii. 16; came to save us, i. 21, xviii. 11; He forgives sin, ix. 2-6; His Church, xvi. 18; institutes the Holy Eucharist, xxi. 26-29; all power is given Him, xxviii. 18; with us to the consummation of the world, xxviii. 20; He will come again, xvi. 27-28, xix. 28, xxiv. 3, 27, 30, 37, 39, 42, 44, xxv. 31, xxvi. 64; false Christs, xxiv. 5, 23-24.

### *The Holy Spirit.*

The Spirit of the Father speaks in us, x. 20; Mary conceives by the Holy Spirit, i. 18, 20; Baptism is conferred in the Spirit, iii. 11, xxviii. 19; the Holy Spirit descends on Christ after His baptism, iii. 16; He leads Christ into the desert, iv. 1; Christ casts out devils by the Spirit, xii. 28; the sin against the Holy Spirit, xii. 31-32; David spoke "in the Spirit," xxii. 43.

## K. Bibliography.

In addition to the Patristic Commentaries, amongst which those of Origen, St. Chrysostom and St. Hilary should be especially noted, we may refer to *Knabenbauer* in the Jesuit Series, *Maldonatus* of course, 1596, and in an English translation 1894, *Patrizi, De Evangeliiis*, Friburg, 1852. Also Carr in the *Cambridge Greek Testament*, 1901; Plummer, *An exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, Elliot and Stock. This should be read as an offset to the following: Allen, *Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew*, where the author's views on the Synoptic Problem are allowed too much play, cf. his *Critical Studies in St. Matthew's Gospel*, *Expository Times*, March, 1900. Harnack, *Date of the Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, Williams and Norgate, 1911. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3 vols., *English translation*, 1909.

## L. The Greek Text of Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. i, cf. *H.E.* V. viii. 2-4.

ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ Γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν Εὐαγγελίου, τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ, εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, Μάρκος ὁ μαθητὴς καὶ ἑρμενευτὴς Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ ὑπὸ Πέτρου κηρυσσόμενα ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε. Καὶ Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Παύλου, τὸ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κηρυσσόμενον Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέθετο. Ἐπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Εφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK

- A. Life of St. Mark.
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#### A. The Life of St. Mark.

ST. MARK is called by St. Paul "the cousin-german of Barnabas," Col. iv. 10. He first figures in Apostolic history when St. Peter, after his miraculous release from prison, comes to the house of Mary the mother of John, who was surnamed Mark, where many were gathered together and praying,

Acts xii. 12. This passage shows us that from the earliest Apostolic times Mark must have been connected with the heads of the Church. That St. Peter naturally went to the house of Mary would seem to show that she was a prominent member of the early Church in Jerusalem; that there were many gathered together in her house seems to indicate that her house was sufficiently large to accommodate the early Church. Hence arose a tradition in later times that this house was the scene of the Last Supper, and, perhaps closely connected with this, a tradition that Mark was the young man who was in the garden of Gethsemane when our Saviour was arrested, Mark xiv. 51-52.

Passing, however, from tradition to history, we find Mark in Jerusalem at the time Paul and Barnabas were ministering to the needs of the famine-stricken about A.D. 45-46, Acts xii. 25, for he went with them to Antioch after their work in the Holy City was accomplished. He next appears as the companion of Paul and Barnabas on their first missionary journey, Acts xiii. 5, where he is called simply "John." When, however, Paul and Barnabas commenced their second mission we are told, Acts xv. 37, that *Barnabas would have taken with them John also, who was surnamed Mark; but Paul desired that he (as having departed from them out of Pamphylia, and not gone with them to the work) might not be received. And there arose a dissension so that they departed one from another, Barnabas indeed taking Mark, sailed to Cyprus. But Paul choosing Silas. . .* The reason of this action on the part of Mark is not stated, it may have been that he feared the "perils" so graphically described by St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 26. Whatever the cause, however, the dissension did not last, for, Col. iv. 10, we find Mark numbered amongst those who *are my helpers in the kingdom of God, who have been a comfort to me.* Mark must, then, have rejoined the Apostle when the latter was in prison at Rome, *i.e.* about A.D. 60-62.<sup>1</sup> The same testimony is given in the *Epistle to Philemon*, 24, *Mark, Aristarchus, Demas and Luke, my fellow-labourers.* A little later we find Mark at Rome with St. Peter: *The Church that is in Babylon (Rome) . . . saluteth you; and so doth my son Mark.* In calling him "my son" St. Peter may possibly mean that he had baptized

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *s.v.* *New Testament Chronology.*

him, and this would accord with the familiarity subsisting between Peter and the household of *Mary, the mother of John who was surnamed Mark*, Acts xii. 12.<sup>1</sup>

## B. The Author; his Relation to St. Peter.

i. **Testimony of Tradition.**—The following *Preface* to Mark's Gospel is given in no less than seventeen Uncial Latin MSS. of the Gospels :

“Mark, God's Evangelist, and Peter's son by baptism, who exercised the priesthood in Israel, who was a Levite according to the flesh, when converted to the faith of Christ wrote his Gospel in Italy, and in it he showed what was due to his own descent and to Christ. For inasmuch as at the outset he opens with an echo of the Prophet's cry, he shows the order of the Levitical choice; and, as declaring that the predestination of John the son of Zachary was set forth by the Angel who announced it, he would not only show that ‘the Word was made flesh,’ but would also show in the very outset of the Gospel-preaching that the Lord's body was animated by the word of the Divine voice, so that whosoever might read his words might know to whom he should attribute the beginning of the Lord in the flesh and the dwelling-place of the coming Lord, and might find in him (Mark ?) the word of that voice (the Prophet's ?) which he had lost in the companion Gospels).<sup>2</sup>

“He then enters upon the task of the perfect Gospel, and, beginning to preach God from the Lord's baptism, he laboured not to set forth that birth in the flesh which he saw told by the previous (Evangelists), he is wholly occupied from the outset with Christ's being driven into the desert, with His fast of number,<sup>3</sup> with his temptation by the devil, with the gathering together of the beasts, with the ministry of Angels, as though wishful to make us understand that, though he sets forth each point in brief form, he detracts in nought from the authority of what occurred, and by carrying his work to a completion he deprives it not of its fulness.<sup>4</sup>

“Finally, it is said that he cut off his thumb after embracing the faith that so he might be held unfit for the priesthood;<sup>5</sup> but to such a

<sup>1</sup> For a good biographical account of Mark see *Expository Times*, May, 1915. That he was one of the seventy-two disciples is often stated, cf. St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI. 6, P.G. XLI. 899-900.

<sup>2</sup> *Quod in consonantibus perdiderat*, for various explanations of this puzzling expression see Wordsworth and White, *Evangelia*, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> We should have expected *numerus jejunii*, for mystical explanations, see *l.c.*

<sup>4</sup> For attempted explanations, see *l.c.*

<sup>5</sup> Hence Mark was called by Marcion *colobodactilos* according to Hippolytus, *Hær.* VII. 30, and so too in the version of this *Preface* given in *Codex Toletanus*.



degree was (divine) election able to concur with predestined faith that he did not lose in actual fact<sup>1</sup> what he had previously merited by his descent, for he became Bishop of Alexandria. His own peculiar task was to know each detail and to harmonize the Gospel sayings within himself, to bear testimony in himself to the discipline of the Law, and to understand the Divine Nature of the Lord in the flesh. These same things we too desire should be sought out, and when discovered we would have them recognized, having the reward of exhortation; for he who plants and he who waters are one thing, but He Who affords the increase is God."

After giving an account of Peter's preaching at Rome Eusebius goes on to say :

"So greatly did the splendour of piety illumine the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not satisfied with hearing once only, and were not content with the unwritten teaching of the divine Gospel, but with all sorts of entreaties they besought Mark, a follower of Peter, and the one whose Gospel is extant, that he would leave them a written monument of the doctrine which had been orally communicated to them. Nor did they cease till they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the occasion of the written Gospel which bears the name of Mark. And they say that Peter, when he had learned, through a revelation of the Spirit, of that which had been done, was pleased with the zeal of the men, and that the work obtained the sanction of his authority for the purpose of being used in the Churches. Clement, in the eighth book of his *Hypotyposes*, gives this account, and with him agrees the Bishop of Hierapolis named Papias."<sup>2</sup>

St. Jerome gives the following account of St. Mark :

"Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote at the petition of the Brethren in Rome a brief Gospel according to what he had heard Peter preaching. And when Peter heard of this he approved it and of his own authority ordered it to be read in the Churches, as Clement in the Sixth<sup>3</sup> Book of his *Outlines* and Papias the Bishop of Hierapolis tell us. And Peter mentions this same Mark in his *First*

<sup>1</sup> *In opere verbi.*

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* II. xv.; cf. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI, 6, *P.G.* XLI. 898-9.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eusebius' extract from Clement, *H.E.* VI. xiv. 5-7: "He (Clement) has given us in the *Hypotyposes* ('Outlines') the tradition of the earliest presbyters as to the order of the Gospels; he writes as follows: 'The Gospels containing the *Genealogics* were, he says, written first. The Gospel according to Mark had this origin; as Peter had preached the Word publicly at Rome, and had declared the Gospel by the Spirit, many who had been present requested that Mark, who had followed him for a long time and remembered his sayings, should write them out. And he, having composed the Gospel, gave it to those who had asked for it. When Peter learned of this he neither directly forbade it nor encouraged it.'"

*Epistle* where he speaks of Rome under the figure of Babylon: *The Church that is in Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth my son Mark* (1 Pet. v. 13).

"Taking with him his Gospel, Mark passed into Egypt. He was the first to preach Christ at Alexandria where he founded the Church. This Church was replete with such perfection of doctrine and such purity of life as compelled the admiration of all followers of Christ. Thus Philo, the most learned of Jews, finding the early Church at Alexandria still imbued with Judaism, wrote a treatise on their manner of life there as though in praise of his own nation;<sup>1</sup> and just as Luke tells us, Acts ii. 44, that at Jerusalem the faithful had all things in common, so Philo tells us that under Mark the same was observed at Alexandria. Mark died in the eighth year of Nero and was buried at Alexandria; he was succeeded by Annianus."<sup>2</sup>

But the most explicit as well as the earliest testimony to St. Mark's authorship of the Second Gospel is that given by Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor in the early part of the second century. This testimony is preserved for us by Eusebius:

"This also the Elder (John) used to say: 'Mark, having been Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately all that he remembered, though he did not (record) in order' the things said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed Him; but subsequently, as I have said, (attached himself to) Peter who used to frame his teaching so as to meet the wants of his hearers, and not as making a connected narrative of the Lord's discourses. Thus Mark committed no error, for he wrote down some particulars just as he called them to mind; he took heed to one point only—to omit none of the facts that he had heard, and to state nothing falsely in (his narrative of) them."<sup>4</sup>

The quotation from Clement of Alexandria given above, in which he refers to Mark's memory, seems like a reminiscence of Papias' words. Note, too, Eusebius' statement that Clement was preserving "the tradition of the earliest Presbyters."

Tertullian's testimony is to the same effect: "The Gospel which Mark published may be affirmed to be Peter's, for Mark was his interpreter."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cp. H.E. II. xvi-xvii.*

<sup>2</sup> *Viris Illustr. VIII. Cp. H.E. II. xxiv.; Apostolic Constitutions, VII. 46.*

<sup>3</sup> For the force of *τάξει* here see *J.T.S.* October, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> *H.E. III. xxxix. 15.*

<sup>5</sup> *Adv. Marcionem. IV. 5.*

ii. **Testimony of the Gospel.**—This traditional connection between the second Gospel and St. Peter is confirmed by an examination of the Gospel itself. For

i. St. Peter has a peculiar prominence assigned him in this Gospel, thus *cp.* Mark i. 36 with Luke iv. 40 ff., Mark xi. 21 with Matt. xxi. 19, Mark xiii. 3 with Matt. xxiv. 3, Mark xvi. 7 with Matt. xxviii. 7, etc.

ii. At the same time the absence of certain particular references to Peter is remarkable, thus acts or sayings creditable to him are omitted, *e.g.* Mark vi. 50 omits the fact that Peter also walked on the water, *cp.* Matt. xiv. 28; Matt. xv. 15 tells us that it was Peter who asked for the explanation of the parable of the things that defile a man, Mark vii. 17 omits this; Peter's confession and the promise consequently made to him in Matt. xvi. 16-19 should be compared with Mark viii. 29; the symbolic story of the discovery of the stater in the fish's mouth, Matt. xvii. 23-26, is omitted; in xiv. 13 it is not said, *cp.* Luke xxii. 7, that the preparation of the Passover was committed to Peter; neither does Mark narrate that Christ prayed for Peter especially, Luke xxii. 31-32.

iii. But, *vice versa*, whatever is derogatory to Peter is insisted on; the rebuke administered to him, viii. 33, is even stronger in form than in Matt. xvi. 23; while the depth of Peter's fall is nowhere more fully indicated than in Mark xiv. 54, 66-72.

iv. The narrative throughout gives the impression that he who tells it *was an eye-witness of what he describes*. Thus the vivacity of the narrative is remarkable; as we read it we cannot fail to be struck by the sense of swift motion; take, for example, Mark's use of the adverb "immediately" or "straightway," it occurs more than forty times, and it makes us feel that we are listening to one who saw over again the scenes he so vividly describes. There are certain minor touches, too, which recall the fisherman of the Sea of Galilee who loved to dwell on the scenes of his earlier life and on the days when he walked with the Son of Man; thus how often he mentions *the sea!* *cf.* ii. 13, iii. 7, iv. 1, 40, v. 1, 13, vii. 31; *the crowds*, *cf.* i. 33, ii. 2, iii. 20, v. 24, vi. 31, 34, viii. 1, ix. 13, x. 1, 46; *the amazement* of the populace, i. 27, v. 20, 42, vi. 2, vii. 37; note too the curious

references to *the house*, iii. 20, vii. 17, ix. 27, 32, x. 10 ; again, his personal recollections of our Lord's look on certain occasions, *looking round about*, iii. 5, 34, v. 32, x. 23, xi. 11 ; also of His *anger*, iii. 5, x. 14, xvi. 14. With this accords his attention to the marvellous side of our Lord's ministry ; he especially presents Him as a *Thaumaturgus*, giving no less than eighteen of His miracles and more particularly those connected with the casting out of *unclean spirits*, i. 23, iii. 11, v. 2-20, vi. 7 ; and of *devils*, i. 34, 39, vi. 13, vii. 26-29, ix. 37, xvi. 9, 17.

Personal recollections of our Blessed Lord are frequent : His treatment of little children, ix. 36, x. 15 ; His anger with Peter, viii. 33 ; how He *went before them* on the way to Jerusalem, x. 32 ; how He sat and called the Twelve, ix. 34-35, etc. Again, we notice the minute insistence on *details of time*, i. 35, ii. 1, iv. 35, vi. 2, xi. 11, 19, xv. 25, xvi. 2 ; also of *numbers*, v. 13, vi. 7, 40 ; and of *places*, the sea-side as above, note also Dalmanutha, viii. 10, Decapolis, v. 20, vii. 31 ; of *persons*, i. 29, iii. 22. Mark, too, has preserved more Aramaic words and expressions than the other Evangelists, *cp. Boanerges*, iii. 17 ; *Talitha Kumi*, v. 41 ; *Bartimæus*, x. 46 ; *Abba*, xiv. 36 ; *Eloi*, xv. 34. It is possible that this is due to Peter's vivid recollection of the occasions on which, some of them at least, were uttered.

That his Gospel was *written at Rome* may, with great probability, be inferred if the previous arguments show that it accords with Peter's preaching. The presence, too, of certain *Latinisms* may point in the same direction ; thus see the Latin forms in the Greek text for the words “executioner” vi. 27, “farthing” xii. 42, and “centurion” xv. 39, note especially the word for “pots” in vii. 4.<sup>1</sup> In general, too, we should note the absence of quotations from the Old Testament, such quotations would be meaningless to the Romans ; also the omission of the title “Son of David” for our Lord ; the absence of the comparisons between the Old and the New Law which form so striking

<sup>1</sup> Σπεκουλάτορα, κοδράντης, κεντυρίων, ξέστης ; note, too, such words as δηνάριον, πραιτώριον, λεγιών, and perhaps κράβαττος, though it seems more probable that this last is a Macedonian word. The noticeable point is that Mark explains Greek terms by Latin ones, *e.g.* xii. 42, xv. 16 ; see Zahn, *Introduction in New Testament*, II. 503.

a feature in the Sermon on the Mount as given by Matthew; Mark is also careful to explain such Jewish customs as might be unintelligible to a non-Jewish audience, *e.g.* the purifications, vii. 3, the meaning of the Passover, xiv. 12, the meaning of the "Day of Preparation," xv. 42; he feels bound, too, to explain where the Mount of Olives was situated, xiii. 3; such explanations would not be necessary for a Jewish auditory. Lastly it should be remarked that when Peter sketches for Cornelius, Acts x. 36-41, the course of the Gospel-preaching, he but follows on the same lines as those adopted by Mark in his Gospel.

iii. **Early Quotations of St. Mark's Gospel.**—The great similarity between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark makes it difficult to tell whether an allusion is to the one rather than to the other; and it must be acknowledged that there are no certain allusions to Mark in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers which have come down to us. In the second-century *Shepherd* of Hermas there are one or two passages which may find their parallel in Mark's Gospel, but St. Justin Martyr has clear and positive references to the second Gospel. Justin, as is well known, repeatedly refers to the "*Memoirs* of Christ drawn up by His Apostles,"<sup>1</sup> and in one place he says "He changed the name of one of the Apostles to Peter, and it is written in his (Peter's) *Memoirs* that this so happened, as well as that He changed the names of other two brothers, the sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means "sons of thunder."<sup>2</sup> Both Mark and John mention the change of Simon's name to Peter, Mark iii. 16 and John i. 42, but Mark alone, iii. 17, narrates that the sons of Zebedee were called Boanerges. The conclusion is irresistible: Justin knew Mark's Gospel, and knew moreover that it was Peter's. Neither should it be forgotten that Justin expressly declares that these *Memoirs* were called Gospels.<sup>3</sup>

iv. **Other Sources open to St. Mark.**—But while allowing full force to the arguments which show Peter's connection with Mark's narrative it would be unreasonable to suppose that Mark had no other source for his Gospel.

<sup>1</sup> *Dial.* C-CVII.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* CVI.

<sup>3</sup> *1 Apol.* LXVI.

Whether Mark was, as Epiphanius states,<sup>1</sup> one of the seventy-two disciples or not, it is at least certain from Acts xii. that he was in close communication with the Apostolic body during the early days of the Church and presumably, too, during the last days of Christ's life. This would explain the disproportionate space allotted by him to the story of the Passion. For while Mark's Gospel is far the shortest of the four his narrative of the last days is as full and detailed as those furnished by the other Evangelists. He may well have gathered information touching this period from the household of Mary, Acts xii., and may perhaps have been a witness of much of it himself if he is to be identified with the “young man” of xiv. 51-52.<sup>2</sup>

### C. The Date of St. Mark's Gospel.

The German critics of the middle of the last century, *e.g.* Baur, referred this Gospel to the period A.D. 130-170, but more recent critics go to the other extreme, Schenkel would place it 45-58 and Hitzig between 55 and 57. The subscriptions to later Uncial and Cursive MSS. of the Greek N.T. assert that it was written in the tenth or twelfth year after the Ascension. Theophylact expressly states that it was “written at Rome in the tenth year after Christ's Ascension.”<sup>3</sup> We saw above that early testimony declared that it was written in Rome during St. Peter's lifetime, therefore previous to A.D. 64 or 67, according to the date to be assigned to Peter's martyrdom. This testimony would be unanimous but for the famous statement of St. Irenæus

<sup>1</sup> *Hær.* LI. 6, *P.G.* XLI. 900. Epiphanius adds that he was one of those who departed from Christ at the “hard saying” about the Holy Eucharist, John vi. 54.

<sup>2</sup> See Zahn, *Introduction to New Testament*, II. 446, 491 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Proemium in Marcum*, given by Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, p. xxxv. Note: Salmond, *H.D.B.* III. 261, asserts that the *Paschal Chronicle* refers the composition of the Gospel to A.D. 40, and Eusebius in his *Chronicle* to A.D. 43; but there is no ground for either assertion, see *Paschal Chronicle*, *P.G.* XCII. col. 559, where we simply have the entry under A.D. 39 (not 40): “In this same year Mark the Evangelist, after sojourning among the Egyptians and Alexandrians, preaches to them the word of Christ; he was the first to set in order the Churches in Alexandria, and he ruled over them twenty-two years.” For Eusebius see his *Chronicle*, *P.G.* XIX col. 543.



who seems to say that it was written "after the death of Peter and Paul."<sup>1</sup> But it is hard to suppose that Irenæus would be in flagrant contradiction to Papias whom he is clearly quoting.<sup>2</sup> And we saw above that Eusebius urged that Clement and Papias were in agreement concerning the date of Mark's Gospel.<sup>3</sup> Dom John Chapman has recently shown<sup>4</sup> that Irenæus had no intention of dating the actual committal of the Gospels to writing :

"He is simply explaining that the teaching of four of the principal Apostles has not been lost, but has been handed down to us in writing. . . . This is the development of the first part of the thesis : the Apostles after the resurrection were filled with knowledge of the Gospel, and they went forth and preached the same Gospel in all lands. . . . The second part of the thesis answers the question 'How has this preaching come down to us in writing?' The reply is that two of the Apostles wrote down their own teaching, while two others were reported by a follower."

Chapman then gives a literal translation of the passage in Irenæus :

"Matthew among the Hebrews in their own language published a writing also of the Gospel (*besides preaching it*).

"Peter and Paul preaching the Gospel (*not to Jews but*) at Rome (*without writing it down*), and founding the church there (*whose testimony I shall give presently, viz. III. iii.*).

"But (*although they died without having written a Gospel*) after their death (*their preaching has not been lost to us, for*) Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, has handed down to us, he also in writing (*like Matthew*), the things which were preached by Peter.

"And Luke besides, the companion of (*the other*) Paul, set down in a book the Gospel preached by that Apostle.

"Finally, John, the disciple of the Lord, he also published a Gospel while he was living in Ephesus of Asia."

Lastly Chapman shows how Tertullian (*Adv. Marcionem*, IV. v.) has the same interpretation of Irenæus.

If this interpretation of Irenæus' words, which have always caused so much difficulty, be accepted, then all our

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. i. 1, and *H.E.* V. viii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Pace* McGiffert who in his note on *H.E.* V. viii. 2 throws doubt on this point.

<sup>3</sup> *Above*, p. 175, *H.E.* II. xv. 2

<sup>4</sup> *J.T.S.* July, 1905, pp. 563 ff. Harnack, *Dates of Acts and the Synoptic Gospels*, 1911, p. 130, accepts this interpretation of Irenæus' words.

witnesses fall into line in saying that Mark wrote his Gospel during the lifetime of St. Peter. Since, however, St. Jerome asserts the tradition that Peter was for twenty-five years Bishop of Rome<sup>1</sup> we are still left to decide upon the precise point in this long period to be assigned to the composition of Mark's Gospel. Eusebius tells us<sup>2</sup> that St. Mark was succeeded at Alexandria by Annianus in the eighth year of Nero, *i.e.* in A.D. 62. St. Jerome, it is true, supposes that this implies Mark's death. But this is by no means certain.<sup>3</sup> If we could suppose that Mark then returned to Rome we should be limited to the period A.D. 62-64 or 67 for the composition of Mark's Gospel. Against this we have the testimony of the subscriptions already referred to which assert that the Gospel was written ten or twelve years after the Ascension.<sup>4</sup> If we accept the latter view we should have to place the writing of this Gospel in the earlier period of Peter's sojourn at Rome, and this would save us from having to say that Jerome was unduly expanding Eusebius' statement about Mark's successor into a statement of his death. After all Jerome knew what he was saying.

#### D. The Place of Composition.

With the exception of St. Chrysostom, who gives Egypt,<sup>5</sup> the early Fathers who mention the point seem as a rule to imply that Mark composed his Gospel at Rome; they positively state that he committed to writing simply what Peter was preaching. Thus St. Irenæus: “Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, committed to writing what

<sup>1</sup> *Vir. Illustr.* I. *Cp. H.E.* II. xiv. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* II. xvi. ; *Chronicon II. sub anno A.D. 62, P.G.* XIX. 543.

<sup>3</sup> *Vir. Illustr.* VIII., *P.L.* XXIII. 623. The *Paschal Chronicle*, under the year 39, states that Mark governed the Church at Alexandria for twenty-two years, *i.e.* till A.D. 61. It is not clear that Mark therefore died in that year, indeed the same *Chronicle* assigns his death to the year 104 under Trajan, *P.G.* XCII. 559 and 607.

<sup>4</sup> Thus Fouard, *St. Paul*, p. 96 note, refers St. Mark's Gospel to a period antecedent to A.D. 51-52. Edmundson, *The Church in Rome in the First Century, Bampton Lectures for 1913*, places it about A.D. 45; but *cf. R.B.* October, 1911, p. 617.

<sup>5</sup> *Proemium in Matt. Hom.* I. 3, *P.G.* LVII. 17. At the Council of Chalcedon the Bishops of Egypt signed the Decrees in the name of St. Mark; Mansi, *Concilia*, VII. 50, *actio quarta*.

Peter was preaching.”<sup>1</sup> But it is certain that Alexandria is the place identified with his main activity. Thus Eusebius says : “ They say that this Mark was the first that was sent to Egypt, and that he proclaimed the Gospel which he had written, and first established churches in Alexandria.”<sup>2</sup> A little further on Eusebius writes : “ When Nero was in the eighth year of his reign, Annianus succeeded Mark the Evangelist in the administration of the parish of Alexandria.”<sup>3</sup> This might seem to refer Mark's death to about the year A.D. 61-62, but see above.

### E. The Object and Scope of St. Mark's Gospel.

What has been already said will, at least in part, have made plain the object with which Mark wrote, or—if we choose so to express it—with which St. Peter preached. Proceeding on the same lines as those briefly sketched by St. Peter, Acts. x. 36-41, see above, Mark opens his Gospel with the words *The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God*. There is an air of triumph about this, and this air of triumph is the key-note to the gospel. The Sacred Humanity of Christ is everywhere made prominent ; but at the same time his Gospel is really a triumphant assertion throughout of the Divinity of our Lord. Yet Mark's aim is not so much to prove the Divinity as to assert the necessary consequence of the Divinity, namely that all things in heaven and upon earth must needs be subject to Christ. It is for this reason that Mark insists so much on the miracles, in his brief Gospel he narrates no less than eighteen of them, and dwells upon them with a fulness of detail which we do not find in Matthew nor even in Luke. A good example of this will be found in the story of the lunatic boy who was cured immediately after the Transfiguration, the incident should be read consecutively in all three Synoptic Gospels. It is for the same reason that Mark dwells so much on the power of casting out devils, all—even the evil spirits—must be subject to Christ, and we note how he dwells upon the admiration these miracles caused in the populace, see above. It is here, too, that the difference between the Gospel of Matthew and that of Mark is apparent. For though both

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. i. 1 and x. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* II. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

proceed on much the same lines yet neither the order, the point of view, nor the mode of narration is the same. Matthew has accommodated the Gospel narrative to the needs of a Jewish audience, Mark—or St. Peter—has adapted it to the needs of a Roman auditory. Thus he begins with the Baptist and his Baptism of Christ, he then plunges straightway into the wonders Christ worked, and he closes with the promise of further miracles to be worked by the disciples, xvi. 17-18. The conclusion drawn from this picture is noteworthy: Since Christ was very God His doctrine must be Divine and must be received by all, or, in the concluding words of the Gospel: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved: he that believeth not shall be condemned.* But it is evident that St. Peter had to prove his own title to the credence of his hearers. And this he is most careful to do. In his sketch of the Gospel-history already referred to, he adds *And we are witnesses of all things that he did. . . . Him God raised up and gave Him to be manifest, not to all the people, but to witnesses pre-ordained by God, even to us who did eat and drink with Him after He arose again from the dead,* Acts x. 39-41. And whereas throughout the Gospel it is pointed out that Christ refused the testimony of the devils whom he cast out, i. 24-25, 34, iii. 12, v. 43, even refusing that of men whom He had healed, i. 43, vii. 36, viii. 26, yet the appointment of regularly ordained witnesses is constantly referred to in more or less explicit terms, i. 36, iii. 7, 13, iv. 10-12, 34, vi. 1, xiii. 11. Moreover it is made clear that these were by no means credulous witnesses, their slowness to believe and their hardness of heart are dwelt on even to the close, iv. 13; vi. 52, viii. 17, xvi. 14.

But since it might well be objected that if Christ were so patently God the spiritual rulers of the people ought not to have rejected Him, Mark is careful to indicate the stages in the opposition of the Pharisees and thus to show for what trifling causes they rejected Him, see, for example, ii. 15-28, iii. 20-30, vii. 1-13. At the same time he insists on the acceptance of Him by the people and on their amazement at His wonders, i. 22, 27-28, 37, ii. 12, v. 42, vi. 54-56, vii. 37, ix. 14, xi. 8-10.

One of the most remarkable features in this Gospel is the change of political atmosphere which accompanies the

removal from Galilee to Jerusalem. In Galilee we see the crowds which are, on the whole, favourable. The Pharisees indeed are everywhere, and we can trace their growing opposition to Christ's teaching step by step. But when we pass to Jerusalem it is the Sadducees, or High Priestly party, who assume the direction of affairs, xii. 18. This subtle change is most instructive. It enforces the truth that our Lord was put to death not so much for His rejection of the Law as for His assertion of a claim which at once struck at the roots of the Priesthood. If He really was the Messiah then the reign of Judaism was over and with it there fell too the power of the priests. This is really the key to the trial of Christ and explains the vindictiveness of Annas and Caiaphas. But St. Mark takes for granted that we shall grasp this delicate point. He does not emphasize it. And herein he shows how complete is his grasp of his subject matter. A writer who had not had personal acquaintance with the facts would either not have made this point at all or he would have drawn attention to it. We can understand the opposition of the Pharisees to Christ: they regarded Him as a self-constituted teacher. But would they have put Him to death? It may well be doubted. For, whatever their faults, they stood for the national religion and would, we feel, have supported the Messiah had they been convinced of the justice of Christ's claims to that title. The Sadducees, on the contrary, had no love for the national institutions; they loved their own power and influence, they stood or fell with the reigning house, hence Mark's references to the Herodians, iii. 6, xii. 13.

A further instance of the author's personal familiarity with the scenes and places he describes is furnished by the numerous and minute geographical indications scattered throughout his narrative. Mark, unlike Luke, passes—with the ease begotten of long acquaintance—from one place to another. Thus Jesus is "from Nazareth of Galilee" i. 9; He goes "into Galilee" *viz.* from the desert of Judæa, i. 14; Galilee as a district is frequently referred to, i. 28, 39, iii. 7, vi. 21, ix. 29, xiv. 28, xv. 41; so too the sea of Galilee, i. 16, vii. 31; the sea-side, ii. 13, iii. 7, iv. 1. He knows "the other side" iv. 35, v. 1, the country of the Gerasenes, v. 1, he is familiar with the Decapolis v. 20, vii. 31, he alone

mentions Dalmanutha, viii. 10. Capharnaum figures frequently, i. 21, ii. 1, ix. 32; note, too, the references to “His own country,” vi. 1; to Genesareth, vi. 53; to “the desert,” i. 3, 13, iv. 5, vi. 31, 32; Arimathea, xv. 43; to Tyre and Sidon, more often named by him than by any other Evangelist, iii. 8, vii. 24, 31; to Bethsaida, viii. 22, and to Cæsarea-Philippi, viii. 27. From the North he passes to the South with similar ease and tells us of “the Jordan,” i. 5, 9, and “beyond Jordan,” iii. 8, x. 1, of Judæa, iii. 7, the country of Judæa, i. 5, Jerusalem, i. 5, x. 32, 33, xi. 1, 11, the Mount of Olives, xi. 1, xiii. 3, Gethsemane, xiv. 32, Jericho, x. 46, Idumæa, iii. 8.

## F. The Style of St. Mark's Gospel.

i. In General.—St. Augustine complained that Mark's very brevity made him obscure,<sup>1</sup> and we know that he regarded his Gospel as an abbreviation of that of St. Matthew.<sup>2</sup> “Compression” would, however, be a more correct term than “brevity”; Mark gives us summaries of Christ's teaching which contrast forcibly with the lengthy exposition of which we have an example in the *Sermon on the Mount*, *cp.*, too, Mark i. 27, viii. 29, xii. 38-40. But while thus condensing the general framework of his narrative Mark is exceedingly full in some of his accounts, thus *cp.* Mark i. 29-39, the healing of Peter's wife's mother, with the accounts given by Matt. viii. 14-17, Luke iv. 38-43; Mark ii. 1-12, the healing of the palsied man, with Matt. ix. 1-18, Luke v. 17-26; Mark v. 22-43, the raising of the daughter of Jairus with the incident by the way, and Matt. ix. 18-26, Luke viii. 41-56. But by way of contrast *cp.* Mark i. 14-20, the call of the disciples, and Matt. iv. 18-25, Luke v. 1-11. The real contrast, however, between the spirit which pervades the narratives of the three Synoptic writers is best seen in a study of any one incident which Mark has in common with either Matthew or with Luke, or with both. Thus in the story of the man with the unclean spirit at Capharnaum, Mark i. 21-28, Luke iv. 31-37, it will be seen that the difference lies not so much in the relative

<sup>1</sup> *Tract. in Joan.* CXVIII. 3, *P.L.* XXXV. 1948.

<sup>2</sup> *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, I. ii. (4), *P.L.* XXXIV. 1044.



length of the narratives as in the minute touches which Mark has and which lend such vivacity to his story.

In this connection it will be of interest to note Mark's additions to the Synoptic narrative. Only three of these additions can be termed extensive, *viz.* the parable of the seed growing secretly, iv. 26-29, and the two miracles of healing in vii. 31-37, and viii. 22-26. But the minor additions are very numerous, and consist for the most part of those touches which retrieve this Gospel from the charge of being a mere abbreviation of Matthew and which afford that personal tone which stamps it as the work of one who was an eye-witness of much that he relates. The chief of these minor additions will be found in i. 11, 12, 32-34; ii. 22, 26, 27; iii. 5, 21, 29, 31; iv. 12, 13, 36, 38; vi. 3, 5, 48, 55; viii. 17, 18, 31, 38; ix. 13, 15, 22-24, 31, 38, 39; x. 14, 17, 18, 34-35; xi. 3, 7, 13, 20; xii. 8, 32; xiv. 14, 58; xv. 25, 44-45.

As compared with Luke, however, the most remarkable feature of Mark is the omission by the former of the whole section Mark vi. 45—viii. 26, though practically the whole of this is given in Matthew.

ii. **St. Mark's Language and Phraseology.**—While the use of *hapax legomena*, or words peculiar to himself, is not so striking in Mark as in Luke, the former having some eighty of these while the latter has more than 250, yet Mark's choice of words is compelling. His characteristic words recur again and again, *e.g.* περιβλέπεσθαι six times against one occurrence in Luke; ἐκθάμβειν four times, and nowhere else in N.T.; ἀκάθαρτος eleven times and always of unclean spirits. These and several other words give character to the narrative, they form part of that vividness which is so peculiarly the feature of the second Gospel. And this choice of certain words is emphasized by Mark's care in the precise use of prepositions, thus compare his use of περιβλέπεσθαι and of ἀναβλέπεσθαι, of ἀποκυλίειν and ἀνακυλίειν. Contrast, too, his use of θαμβεῖσθαι i. 27, x. 24, 32, and of ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι ix. 15, xiv. 33, xvi. 5, 6, and of συνζητεῖν instead of ζητεῖν, of ἐκπορευέσθαι eleven times and εἰσπορευέσθαι eight times, while never employing the simple verb πορευέσθαι so commonly used by the other Evangelists. The opening formula καὶ ἰδοὺ, so constant in

Matthew, is wanting, while St. John's favourite *οὖν*, very frequent also in Matthew and Luke, is only found four times in Mark.

The vivid note of the Gospel is in great part due to the freedom with which Mark uses the Greek tenses; this may arise from his natural familiarity with Hebrew, but at any rate he passes from present to imperfect, from perfect to aorist, with what would almost appear to be complete indifference, *e.g.* v. 6 ff., and indeed throughout his Gospel. This same note of vividness appears in his abundant use of participles, whether with or without the auxiliary verb, *e.g.* i. 6, 33, 39, 40, also in his occasional double negatives, *e.g.* i. 44, v. 4, xvi. 8; neither should we omit the use of *εὐθέως* which occurs over forty times in this Gospel.

iii. **The Vulgate Version of St. Mark.**—The reader who is familiar with the Latin version of Matthew and Luke finds himself constantly at fault when he passes to Mark; this is partly due to our greater familiarity with Matthew and Luke, but also to the fact that the Latin translator of Mark makes use of many unusual words, *e.g.* *lagna*, xiv. 13; *refectio*, xiv. 14; *deservire*, iii. 9; *cervical*, iv. 38; *communis* and *communicare*, vii. 2, 15, 18, 20, 23, where Matthew has *coinquinare*, but see Mark vii. 15, *conquiere*, i. 27, viii. 11, ix. 9, 14, 16, xii. 28, and *pastinare*, xii. 1.

## G. The Divisions of the Gospel.

The *geographical* division is as follows:

I. 1-13. The Preparation, *i.e.* the Preaching of the Baptist, the baptism and temptation of our Lord.

I. 14-IX. 49. The Galilean ministry. A curious feature of this portion of the narrative is the way in which Mark insists upon our Lord's frequent retirements from public gaze, i. 35, 45; iii. 7; vi. 6, 31; vii. 24; viii. 27; ix. 1.

X. 1-31. The ministry in Peræa.

X. 32-XV. The Last journey; the Passion and Death of Christ.

XVI. The Resurrection.

But according to the development worked out by the Evangelist we may divide his narrative as follows:

I. 13. The Proemium, as above.

I. 14-IX. 28. The Galilean preaching as showing forth the Divinity of Christ.

IX. 29—XIII. The Divinity having been shown, Christ's Divine doctrine is then dwelt upon as the preparation of the Apostles for their work.

XIV—XVI. The Passion and Glory of Christ.

This division makes the Transfiguration and the subsequent miracle worked on the lunatic boy the turning point in the narrative; they are the outcome, so to speak, of the Confession of Peter.

## ANALYSIS OF THE GOSPEL.

A. I. 1-13. PROEMIUM; THE PREACHING OF THE BAPTIST; THE BAPTISM OF OUR LORD; HIS TEMPTATION.

B. I. 14—IX. 49. THE GALILEAN MINISTRY.

(a) *The early ministry*, I. 14—III. 12.

- i. 14-15. The first message.
- i. 16-20. Call of Simon and Andrew, James and John.
- i. 21-28. In the synagogue at Capharnaum; expulsion of an unclean spirit on the Sabbath day.
- i. 29-31. Healing of Peter's wife's mother.
- i. 32-34. He works many miracles.
- i. 35-39. A missionary circuit.
- i. 40-45. The healing of the leper.
- ii. 1-12. Again at Capharnaum; the palsied man; the opposition of the Scribes.
- ii. 13-22. Call of Levi; the feast in his house; the disciples of John; the Pharisees question Him on fasting; the parables of the patch on the garment and of the new wine in old bottles.
- ii. 23-28. The disciples in the cornfield on the Sabbath day; another attack by the Pharisees.
- iii. 1-6. Cure of the man with the withered hand in the Synagogue, a second miracle on the Sabbath.
- iii. 7-12. He retires to the sea of Galilee and works many miracles, especially casting out unclean spirits.

(b) *From the choice of the Twelve to their mission*, III. 13—VI. 6.

- iii. 13-19. The choice of the Twelve.
- iii. 20-39. Renewed attack by the Scribes; accusation of being in league with Beelzebub; the sin against the Holy Spirit.
- iii. 31-35. His Mother and His brethren.
- iv. 1-34. The preaching in parables; the parables of the Sower, the candle, the seed growing secretly, the mustard-seed.
- iv. 35-40. He bids them cross to the other side of the lake; the storm.

v. 1-20. The man with the unclean spirit at Gerasa, his name is “Legion”; the devils enter the swine.

v. 21-43. The return to the west side; the woman with the issue of blood is healed; the daughter of Jairus is raised from the dead.

vi. 1-6. He is rejected in His own country.

(c) *From the Mission of the Twelve to the Confession of Peter*, VI. 12—VIII. 26.

vi. 7-11. The Mission of the Twelve.

vi. 12-15. Their work and its fruits.

vi. 16-30. Herod's fear; the story of the Baptist.

vi. 31-44. Christ retires to a desert place; He multiplies the loaves for 5000 men.

vi. 45-53. They return by boat to the West side of the lake; He walks on the water.

vi. 54-56. On arrival at Gennesar He works many miracles.

vii. 1-23. Third attack by the Scribes and Pharisees; of the Jewish system of purifications.

vii. 24-30. He retires to Tyre and Sidon; the miracle granted at the prayer of the Syro-Phœnician woman.

vii. 31-37. He returns to the sea of Galilee and Decapolis; He heals one deaf and dumb.

viii. 1-9. He multiplies loaves for 4000 men.

viii. 10-21. He goes by boat to Dalmanutha; fourth attack by the Pharisees who ask a sign, but He refuses to grant one. They cross back to Bethsaida; He rebukes the disciples' want of faith, reminding them of the miracles in favour of the 5000 and the 4000 men.

viii. 22-26. At Bethsaida He heals a blind man.

(d) *From the Confession of Peter to the close of the Galilæan ministry*, VIII. 27—IX. 49.

viii. 27-39. At Cæsarea-Philippi Peter confesses the Divinity of Christ. The first prediction of the Sacred Passion.

ix. 1-12. The Transfiguration.

ix. 13-26. The cure of the lunatic boy.

ix. 27-31. The need of prayer and fasting; the second prediction of the Sacred Passion.

ix. 32-49. At Capharnaum He sets a little child in their midst and gives them lessons in humility and tolerance. He insists on the eternity of Hell.

## C. X. 1-31. THE PREACHING IN PERÆA.

x. 1-12. Fifth attack by the Pharisees who questioned Him concerning divorce.

x. 13-16. Little children are brought to Him; He blesses them and rebukes the disciples.

x. 17-31. The rich young man; lessons on the danger of riches. The promise to those who have left all for His sake.

D. X. 32-52. THE LAST STAGE IN THE JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.

x. 32-34. His eagerness in pressing forwards to His goal ; the third prediction of the Sacred Passion.

x. 35-45. The request of the sons of Zebedee ; lessons in humility.

x. 46-52. The cure of Bartimæus at Jericho.

E. XI. 1—XIII. 37. THE FIRST THREE DAYS OF HOLY WEEK.

xi. 1-11. Palm Sunday.

xi. 12-19. Monday in Holy Week ; He curses the fig-tree ; He cleanses the temple.

xi. 20-26. Tuesday in Holy Week. They find the fig-tree withered up ; lessons in faith and forgiveness.

xi. 27—xii. 40. The questionings in the temple :

xi. 27-33. The Chief Priests, the Scribes and the Elders demand *by what authority He acts* ; He answers by a counter question regarding the Baptism of John ; they refuse to answer, and He in turn refuses to answer them except by

xii. 1-12. The parable of the husbandmen in the vineyard.

xii. 13-17. They send the Pharisees and the Herodians to entrap Him : *Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar ?*

xii. 18-27. The Sadducees come and put subtle questions about *the resurrection of the dead*.

xii. 28-34. A Scribe asks Him *which is the greatest commandment*.

xii. 35-40. Christ now asks a counter-question : *How do the Scribes say that Christ is the Son of David ?* He pronounces a scathing condemnation on the Scribes.

xii. 41-44. The widow's mite.

xiii. 1-37. On Mount Olivet He discourses of the *Last Things* and of the destruction of Jerusalem.

F. XIV—XV. THE STORY OF THE PASSION.

xiv. 1-9. The anointing of Christ at Bethany.

xiv. 10-11. Judas betrays Him to the Priests.

xiv. 12-16. Preparation for the Last Supper.

xiv. 17-26. The Last Supper.

xiv. 27-33. On the way to Gethsemane He foretells that Peter will deny Him thrice.

xiv. 32-42. The Agony in the garden.

xiv. 43-52. The arrest of Jesus.

xiv. 53-65. His arraignment before the High Priest.

xiv. 66-72. Peter's denials.

xv. 1-15. He is led before Pilate ; Barabbas is preferred before Him. He is scourged.

xv. 16-19. He is crowned with thorns.

xv. 20-22. He is led to Calvary, and Simon of Cyrene helps Him to carry His cross.

xv. 23-37. On the Cross.

xv. 28, 38-41. The veil of the temple is rent ; the confession of the Centurion ; the women who had accompanied Him.

xv. 42 47. The burial.

## G. XVI. THE RESURRECTION.

xvi. 1-8. The visit of Mary Magdalen, of Mary of James, and of Salome to the tomb.

xvi. 9-11. He appears to Mary Magdalen.

xvi. 12-13. He appears to the disciples going to Emmaus.

xvi. 14-18. He appears to the Eleven and upbraids them for their hardness of heart in not believing those who told of His Resurrection.

xvi. 19-20. The final commission to the Apostles ; the promise that miraculous powers shall confirm their ministry.

xvi. 18-20. The Ascension of our Lord ; the Apostles go forth to preach, and the Lord co-operates with miraculous signs.

## H. The Last Twelve Verses of St. Mark's Gospel.

present a most interesting and complicated textual problem. We can but summarize the evidence here.<sup>1</sup> Anyone who will read attentively from xv. 47 will notice that xvi. 9 marks a transition : Mary Magdalen is there spoken of as though she had not figured largely in the previous nine verses. Moreover, vv. 9-20 seem to be an epitome of recorded appearances of Christ with a supplement on His Ascension and on the subsequent work of the Apostles, 9-11, 12-13, 14-18, 19-20. Further, an examination of the Greek text shows us several words and expressions which are quite unusual in Mark, but which are rather in the style of St. John.<sup>2</sup>

Eusebius long ago remarked that some in his day questioned the authenticity of these last verses ; he says of an apologist who would avoid a supposed inconsistency in the Gospel-narrative :

“For, rejecting the passage which alleges this, he would say that it is not in all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark. And certainly the accurate copies mark the close at the words ‘for they were

<sup>1</sup> A full account will be found in Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, Macmillan, 1898, pp. xcvi-cv. ; cf. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, II. 200 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. πρώτη 9, ἐφάνη 9, ἐκβάλλειν παρά 9, ἐθεάθη 11, 14, μετὰ ταῦτα 12, ὕστερον δέ 14, θανάσιμος 18, καλῶς ἔχειν 18, etc. The Markan use of the introductory καί is noticeably absent.



*afraid*, ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, for at this point the close is indicated in practically all the copies of the Gospel according to Mark."<sup>1</sup>

And this statement is borne out by the great codices,  $\aleph$  and *B*, though the scribe of the latter shows signs that he perhaps knew of a continuation. Similarly the Sinaitic Syriac version ends at *for they were afraid*. But over against Eusebius' declaration it must be said that all the Uncial MSS. except six, all the cursive MSS., all MSS. of the Old Latin version save one, the Curetonian Syriac, etc., have the ordinary ending to which we are accustomed and which is generally known as "the long ending" because certain MSS. present us with a shorter ending to the Gospel. Thus three MSS., *L*,  $\Upsilon$ <sup>12</sup>, and  $\eta$ , show that their original ended with the words *for they were afraid*; but the copyists of these MSS. were acquainted with two other endings, a short and a long, of which they put the shorter form first after indicating that the Gospel closed in their original with the words *for they were afraid*. A fourth MS.,  $\Psi$ , gives no hint that the original ended with the above words but immediately adds the shorter ending followed by the longer as an alternative. This shorter ending runs as follows:

"But all the things announced to them concerning Peter they carefully declared. And after these things Jesus Himself appeared to them, and from the East as far as the West He spread abroad through them the sacred and incorruptible preaching of everlasting salvation."

This short ending finds a place also in the margin of one cursive Greek MS., of the Harcleian Syriac and of some Coptic MSS.;<sup>2</sup> also in the text of some Ethiopic MSS.; one Old Latin MS., *k*, gives this short ending only.

<sup>1</sup> *Quæst. ad Marinum*, ap. *Mai Nov. Patrol. Bibl.* IV. 255 f. given by Swete, *l.c.* St. Jerome has precisely the same remark: he tells Hedibia, *Ep.* cxx. 3, that if Matthew is in disagreement with Mark when the former says *vespere autem sabbati* while the latter has *una sabbati mane*, then "aut non recipimus Marci testimonium, quod in raris fertur Evangeliiis, omnibus Græciæ libris pene hoc capitulum in fine non habentibus, præsertim cum diversa atque contraria Evangelistis ceteris narrare videatur. . . ." St. Gregory of Nyssa, too, bears the same testimony when he says, *Grat. II. de Resurrect.* "in the more accurate copies the Gospel according to Mark ends at *for they were afraid*." Victor of Antioch and an anonymous writer from Toulouse in the *Catena in Marcum* omit these verses, *i.e.* the longer ending.

<sup>2</sup> For a somewhat amplified form, see *Scrivener-Miller*, II. p. 111.

Matters are further complicated by the appearance of a third ending in what is now known as the Detroit MS. of the Gospels discovered at Cairo in 1897. This ending runs:

“And they alleged in their defence: this world of iniquity and incredulity is under the dominion of Satan, who permits not that what is under the control of impure spirits should receive the truth and power of God; reveal, then, Thy justice now! This is what they said to Christ. But He replied to them: the limit of the years of Satan’s power is filled up. But terrible things draw near. For them that sinned was I delivered to death that they might be converted to the truth and sin no more, that so they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness (promised) in heaven; but do ye go. . . .”<sup>1</sup>

This is a most interesting ending, for it is clearly the one referred to by St. Jerome when he says:

“In some copies, and especially in the Greek MSS., we find it written at the end of the Gospel according to Mark: ‘afterwards when the Eleven were at table, Jesus appeared to them and upbraided them for their incredulity and hardness of heart, since they believed not them that saw Him risen.’ And He satisfied their demand when they said: ‘this world of iniquity and incredulity is under the dominion of Satan who permits not the truth of God to be apprehended by unclean spirits; reveal, then, Thy justice now!’”<sup>2</sup>

Neither of these shorter endings can be said to be in the style of Mark any more than the present longer ending. All three endings, however, are very ancient, thus Eusebius has told us that the short ending vouched for by some of the Uncials is in “the more correct” MSS., while the recently discovered short ending was known to St. Jerome. But the long ending has prevailed in the Church, and it can undoubtedly claim a higher antiquity than either of the other two. Thus Irenæus<sup>3</sup> expressly quotes it as the close of Mark’s Gospel, St. Justin<sup>4</sup> apparently refers to it, as also may be the case with Lactantius,<sup>5</sup> and certainly with Hippolytus.<sup>6</sup> Finally, MS. authority in its favour is overwhelming. If it be granted, then, that its Markan authorship is doubtful, we must say of this passage, as of John vii. 53—viii. 11 (*cf.*

<sup>1</sup> *Cf. American Journal of Archæology*, 1908, pp. 49-55; also *R.B.* July, 1908, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Pelag.* II. 15; *P.L.* XXIII. 550.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Hæv.* III. x. 6.

<sup>4</sup> *1 Apol.* XLV.

<sup>5</sup> *Epitome*, XLVII.

<sup>6</sup> See Charteris, *Canonicity*, I and 7.

*infra*), that while inspired, and thus a portion of Holy Scripture, it is not from the hand of St. Mark. If it be thought necessary to uphold its Markan origin then we may take refuge in the view of some who hold that Mark was interrupted at xvi. 8, and finished off his Gospel later; this, it is maintained, would account for the differences in style.<sup>1</sup>

## J. The Theological Teaching of the Gospel.

### *God and the Father :*

The Most High, v. 7; is One, xii. 29, 32; is Good, x. 18; is Blessed, xiv. 61; the Creator, x. 6, xiii. 19; all things are possible to Him, x. 27; the power of, xii. 24, xiv. 62; the Will of, iii. 35; the Lord, xiii. 20; the Father of Christ, viii. 38, xiii. 32, xiv. 36; Father of men, xi. 25, 26; the commandment of, vii. 8, 9; the Word of, vii. 13; the things of, viii. 33; the Kingdom of, i. 14, 15, iv. 26, 30, viii. 39, x. 14, 15, 23, 25, 26, xii. 34, xiv. 25, xv. 43; the Temple is the House of, ii. 26; adjure by God, v. 7; God alone forgives sin, ii. 7; the way of, xii. 14; is the God of the living, xii. 27; is the Author of matrimony, x. 9; the Right hand of, xiv. 62, xvi. 19; the faith of God, xi. 22; render to God, xii. 17; they glorified God, ii. 12.

### *The Christology :*

Christ is the Son of God, i. 1, 11, iii. 12, v. 7, viii. 38, xiii. 32, xiv. 36, 61, xv. 39; is the Son of Man, ii. 38, x. 33, 45, xiii. 26, xiv. 21, 61; Son of Mary, vi. 3; the Christ, viii. 29, ix. 40, xiv. 61; is Jesus Christ, i. 1; Jesus of Nazareth, i. 9, x. 47, xiv. 62, xv. 6; the Holy One of God, i. 34; the Lord, ii. 23, xi. 3; is Lord, ii. 28; the Son of David, x. 47-48, xii. 35; the Master, xiv. 14, 45; the King of the Jews, xv. 2, 9, 12, 18, 26; the King of Israel, xv. 32; the Angels minister to Him, i. 13; His knowledge of what is hidden, ii. 8, v. 30, viii. 17; He is a carpenter, vi. 3; He is unable to work miracles because of their unbelief, vi. 5; He marvels at their unbelief, vi. 6; He forgives sins, ii. 5; His Resurrection, xvi. 6; His Ascension, xvi. 19; He sits at the Right Hand of the Father, xvi. 19.

### *The Holy Spirit :*

We are baptized in, i. 8; He descends on Christ in form of a dove, i. 10; drives Jesus into the desert, i. 12; the sin against the Holy Spirit, iii. 29; inspires the Scriptures, xii. 36; He speaks in believers, xiii. 11.

*Faith :* The need of, v. 34, xi. 22-24, xvi. 16-18. *Unfaith :* ix. 18, xvi. 14. *Inspiration of Holy Scripture :* xii. 24, 36. *The resurrection of*

*the body* : xii. 27. *Everlasting life* : x. 30. *Eternity of hell* : ix. 42-47. *Forgiveness of sins* : iii. 20, xi. 26. *Confession of sins* : i. 5. *Anointing with oil* : vi. 13.

### K. Bibliography.

In addition to the older Commentaries we may mention those of Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, Macmillan, 1898; *L'Évangile selon S. Marc*, Lagrange, O. P., Gabalda, 1911; the edition of *St. Mark* in the *Cambridge Greek Testament*. See also *R.B.* April, 1904, pp. 290 and 300; January, 1911.

### L. Appendix.

Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγε· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμενευτῆς Πέτρου γενόμενος, ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μέντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσε τοῦ κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δὲ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ, ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὥσπερ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λογίων· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτε Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράψας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσιν. Ἐνδὲς γὰρ ἐποιήσατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσε παραλιπεῖν, ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. *H.E.* III. xxxix. 15.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. LUKE

- A. The Identity of St. Luke.
- B. The "Sources" of his Gospel.
- C. The Language of his Gospel.
  - i. His Greek.
  - ii. His Aramaisms.
- D. The Object and Scope of his Gospel.
- E. Characteristics of his Gospel.
- F. Analysis.
- G. Its Integrity.
- H. The Theological Teaching.
- J. Bibliography.

THE third Gospel is that attributed by immemorial tradition to St. Luke. It proceeds on the same general lines as the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, though it has, as we shall see, certain striking divergences from them. It forms what may be termed the *First Volume* of Luke's writings, the *Acts* forming the *second*, see Luke's *Prologue to Acts*.

#### A. The Identity of St. Luke.

The famous Codices of the Vulgate, *Cavensis* and *Tolentanus*, have a Preface to this Gospel which runs as follows :

" Luke, a Syrian of Antioch, by profession a physician, a disciple of the Apostles, afterwards a follower of Paul. Up to the day of his martyrdom (*confessionem*) he served the Lord without fault, he had no wife, he begot no children. He died in Bithynia at the age of eighty-

four, full of the Holy Spirit. Since the Gospels had already been written, by Matthew in Judæa, by Mark in Italy, Luke, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, wrote this Gospel in the district of Achaia. In his *Prologue* he points out that other Gospels had already been written, but that the grave duty lay upon him of setting out for the believing Greeks a full and diligent account of Christ who was to come in the flesh. And this he did lest they should concern themselves with Jewish fables, whereas they ought to be wholly occupied with the desire of the Law; lest, too, they should be seduced by heretical myths and foolish promises, and so fall away from the truth.

“Consequently he is led to begin straightway with the birth of John; for this is the beginning of the Gospel, since John was sent before our Lord Jesus Christ and was His fellow-worker in bringing the Jews to perfection. He it was who brought Christ to Baptism and who was His companion in suffering. Of this indeed Malachi, one of the Twelve Prophets, makes mention. Afterwards Luke wrote the *Acts of the Apostles*. After him John wrote the *Apocalypse* in the island of Patmos, and later the *Gospel* in Asia.”<sup>1</sup>

Much the same account is given by St. Jerome:

“Luke, a physician of Antioch, knew well the Greek language as his writings show. He was one of St. Paul’s train, and, as the companion of all his journeyings, he wrote his Gospel; of him Paul says: *We have sent also with him the brother whose praise is in the Gospel through all the churches* (2 Cor. viii. 18); and to the Colossians he says: *Luke, the most dear physician, saluteth you* (iv. 14); and to Timothy: *Luke alone is with me* (2 Tim. iv. 11). Luke also published another notable volume which bears the title *Acts of Apostles*; in this volume the history is carried down to the two years of St. Paul’s sojourn at Rome, that is to the fourth year of Nero (Acts xxviii. 30). This shows us that the book was composed at Rome. Consequently we count as apocryphal the Sections touching Paul and Thecla (now known as the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*), as well as the foolish story of the lion that was baptized. For how could Paul’s close companion, one too who knew so much about him, have failed to know this? And as a matter of fact Tertullian, who lived not so long after, tells us that a certain priest in Asia, a devoted adherent of St. Paul, was accused by St. John of having composed this work, and he confessed that he had done so out of devotion to Paul; he was removed from his office (*cf. Tertullian, De Baptismo*, xvii.).

“Some think that whenever St. Paul in his *Epistles* says: *According to my Gospel*, he is referring to Luke’s volume; also that Luke not only learnt his Gospel from the Apostle Paul who had not known the Lord in the Flesh, but from the other Apostles as well. Indeed Luke himself states this in the beginning of his book when he says: *According as they have delivered them unto us who from the beginning were eye-witnesses*

<sup>1</sup> Given in Wordsworth and White’s *Oxford Vulgate*, the *Gospels*, p. 272. This *Prologue* is an abbreviated form of a much longer one given in a great number of Codices of the Vulgate, *ibid.* p. 269.



and ministers of the word. The *Gospel* Luke wrote according to what he had heard; but the *Acts* he composed according to what he himself had seen.

"Luke lies buried at Constantinople whither his bones, together with the relics of the Apostle Andrew, were translated in the twentieth year of Constantine."<sup>1</sup>

So too when commenting on *Philemon*, 24, St. Jerome says:

"Luke the physician who, by leaving to the Churches his *Gospel* and his *Acts of the Apostles*, has shown us how the Apostles became from fishers of fishes fishers of men; for he himself became from a physician of the body a physician of the soul . . . and as often as his Book is read in the Church so often does his medicine flow out."<sup>2</sup>

Various traditions touching Luke's identity have come down to us. Thus Origen suggests that his name was really Lucius;<sup>3</sup> Epiphanius<sup>4</sup> and Adamantius<sup>5</sup> that he was one of the Seventy-two disciples. That he was the "brother whose praise is in the Gospel," 2 Cor. viii. 18, is repeatedly stated by St. Jerome<sup>6</sup> and also by Adamantius.<sup>7</sup> It has often been held that he was the unnamed disciple who went with Cleophas (Luke xxiv. 18) to Emmaus, but this is tacitly denied by Origen who gives their names as Clopas and Simon,<sup>8</sup> and also by St. Ambrose who gives the name of the other as Amaon.<sup>9</sup>

The following passages from Eusebius are of interest; the first quotation shows us the extent of St. Jerome's indebtedness to him; the second is of value for the suggestion that Luke wrote his *Acts* at the close of St. Paul's

<sup>1</sup> *De Viris Illustr.* VII.; *P.L.* XXII. 619-620; *cf.* *D.R.* April, 1883, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> *Comment. in Ep. ad Philemonem*, 24; *P.L.* XXVI. 618. For Luke's medical language note iv. 38, 40, v. 31, xxii. 40, and see further *s.v. Acts*; also *D.R.* July, 1883, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Hom. X. xxxix. in Ep. ad Romanos*, *P.G.* XIV. 1288; *cf. Expos. Times*, September, October, 1913.

<sup>4</sup> *Hær.* LI. xi.

<sup>5</sup> *Dial. adv. Marcionistas*, *cf. P.L.* XXIII. 1002, *note*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ut supra*.

<sup>7</sup> *De Recta Fide*, I. *inter Opp. Origenis*, ed Delarue, I. 807; so too St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI. 11; *P.G.* XLI. 908.

<sup>8</sup> *Præf. in Joan.* x., Delarue, IV. 11; *cf. Apost. Constitut.* VI. 16, and Mansi, *Concilia*, I. 325 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Lib. X. Comment. in Evangel. S. Lucæ*.

second Roman captivity rather than at the close of the first, see *s.v. Acts*, Vol. III. :

“ Luke, who was of Antiochian parentage, a physician by profession, especially intimate with Paul, and well acquainted with the rest of the Apostles, has left us in two inspired Books proofs of that spiritual healing art which he learnt from them. One of these Books is the *Gospel* which he testifies that he wrote according as those who were from the beginning eye-witnesses and ministers of the word delivered unto him, all of whom, as he says, he followed accurately from the first. The other Book is the *Acts of the Apostles* which he composed, not from the accounts of others, but from what he himself had seen. And they say that Paul meant to refer to Luke's Gospel wherever, as speaking of some Gospel of his own, he used the words ‘ according to my Gospel. ’ ”<sup>1</sup>

“ In his *Second Epistle to Timothy* St. Paul indicates that Luke was with him when he wrote, but that at the first defence not even he was with him. Hence it is probable that Luke wrote the *Acts of the Apostles* at that time, continuing his history down to the period when he was with Paul. ”<sup>2</sup>

The Muratorian Fragment (see *s.v. Canon*, p. 88) speaks of Luke as follows :

“ Tertio (tertium) Evangelii librum secundo (secundum) Lucan.  
 Lucas iste medicus post acensum (ascensum) XRI,  
 Cum eo (eum) Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum  
 Secundum adsumsisset, numeni (nomine) suo  
 Ex opinione concribset (conscripsit) ; dum tamen nec Ipse  
 dvidit (vidit) in carne, et ide(o) prout asequi (assequi) potuit ;  
 ita et ad (ab) nativitate Johannis ex decipolis (discipulis) incipet  
 (incepit) dicere. ”

St. Jerome states positively that Luke was a Syrian or Antioch,<sup>3</sup> Eusebius says the same,<sup>4</sup> and presumably Jerome derived his information from him. It is probable that Eusebius identified Luke with the Lucius<sup>5</sup> of Rom. xvi. 21. But this Lucius was a Jew, as is evident from St. Paul terming him “ my kinsman, ” whereas it is certain that Luke was not a Jew since, in Col. iv. 14, he is named apart from those who, in iv. 11, are said to be “ of the circumcision. ” St. Jerome refers to a tradition that “ Luke, as being a proselyte, knew no Hebrew, ”<sup>6</sup> but when he says of

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* III. iv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* II. xxii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ut supra.*

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. Origen, ut supra.*

<sup>6</sup> *Quæst. Heb. in Genesim.* xlvi. 26 ; *P.L.* XXIII. 1002 ; and again : “ Our early teachers in the Church tell us that Luke the Evangelist was deeply skilled in the art of medicine, and that he knew Greek

him that "he was not unacquainted with the Greek tongue"<sup>1</sup> he would seem to imply that he was a Hebrew. His intimate acquaintance with the Septuagint version may indicate that Luke was a proselyte though there is no reason why he should not have become familiar with the Greek Bible after his conversion. According to St. Jerome Luke wrote his Gospel in Bœotia and Achaia;<sup>2</sup> according to the *Apostolic Constitutions*, VII. xlvi. he consecrated Avilius the second Bishop of Alexandria. St. Gregory Nazianzen says he was martyred,<sup>3</sup> but the tradition preserved in the above-quoted ancient *Preface* to the Third Gospel says: "serviens Deo sine crimine, nunquam habens uxorem, LXXXIII annorum obiit in Bithynia, plenus Spiritu Sancto, sepultus in Constantinopoli. In Achaia, Græcâ linguâ Evangelium scripsit."<sup>4</sup>

The whole of antiquity witnesses to the Lukan authorship of the *Third Gospel*;<sup>5</sup> indeed Marcion's acceptance of this Gospel was based on the fact that it emanated from St. Paul's faithful disciple. References to the Gospel by the Apostolic Fathers are fairly clear, thus *cp. Barnabas* xix. and Luke vi. 30, also St. Polycarp, *Phil.* ii. and Luke vi. 36-38, where the whole context points to the *Third* rather than the *First* Gospel as its source.

## B. The "Sources" used by St. Luke.

No one can read St. Luke's Gospel through without feeling that he is being afforded a literary treat. His narrative unfolds itself in a series of pen-pictures of undying beauty. As the characters appear on his canvas

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better than Hebrew. Hence too his diction, both in his *Gospel* and in the *Acts of the Apostles*, is of a refined character, it savours, too, of worldly eloquence, and he makes use of the Greek Scriptures rather than of the Hebrew," in *Isaiam* VI. 9, P.L. XXIV. 98; *cf. in Isaiam* XXVIII. 13, *ibid.* 320.

<sup>1</sup> *De Viris Illustr.* VII.

<sup>2</sup> *Pref. in Matth.*, P.L. XXVI. 18. See note 6 on p. 224.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Julian.* i. 79, P.G. XXXV. 589.

<sup>4</sup> See above, also *Inter. Opp. S. Hier.*, P.L. XXX. 567, and St. Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium*, I. 5; P.L. XXIII. 343, where he says that Constantius translated thither the bodies of St. Andrew, St. Luke and St. Timothy. *Cp. Vir. III. VII.*, P.L. XXIII. 619, *ut supra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Cp. sv. Canon New Testament*, p. 79 ff.

they are sketched in in broad yet delicate lines so that Mary, Elizabeth, Zachary, Simeon, the woman “that was a sinner,” Zacheus, Mary and Martha, etc., all stand out from the canvas as living, moving, speaking figures. It is the same with the parables he gives in such profusion; the story of the *Prodigal Son* makes appeal almost as much by reason of the artistic touch which pervades it as because of its intrinsic beauty. Not less wonderful is Luke’s versatility. He is a consummate writer of history as well as an artistic delineator of character. He tells us that he had a wealth of material at his disposal, and he shows how he moulded this material into a narrative which while it reveals its sources to the student yet forms a whole. There is no patchwork about it. When we come to his *Acts* we shall see how out of a diary he has woven a narrative which charms as much by its detail as by its rhythm, as much by its skilful avoidance of side-issues as by the light it throws on the Evangelic history of a period covering thirty years packed with incidents of vital importance. That Luke was the disciple of St. Paul is the unswerving tradition of the Fathers, it is taken for granted by Tertullian when arguing against Marcion who preferred his form of the Gospel of Luke to the form generally current.<sup>1</sup> But in the case of Luke’s *Gospel* as distinguished from *Acts* his indebtedness to St. Paul lies rather in the spirit which permeates his Gospel than in its form or material;<sup>2</sup> for Paul was no more an eyewitness of Christ’s life than was Luke.<sup>3</sup> At the same time St. Paul may well have

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. ii-v., *P.L.* II. 363-367. *Cp.* St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. x. 1; xiv. 1, *P.G.* VII. 872, 913.

<sup>2</sup> It is doubtful whether St. Paul can be said to be quoting Luke x. 7 in 1 Tim. v. 18, “the Scripture saith, *Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, and The labourer is worthy of his hire.*” For though this last passage is apparently quoted as Scripture, yet this is not certain, it may have been merely a well-known proverbial expression. As given in 1 Timothy the quotation is in exact accordance with Luke x. 7; Matt. x. 10 is slightly different. But apart from the vocabulary common to Luke and Paul, *cf. infra*, it is worth noting the agreement between 1 Cor. xv. 5, “He was seen by Cephas, and after hat by the eleven,” and Luke xxiv. 33-36. The words of Institution, too, as given in 1 Cor. xi. 24-25, agree with Luke xxii. 19-20 as against the accounts left us in Matthew and Mark.

<sup>3</sup> *Cf.* St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* VII. *supra*.

handed on to Luke the traditions which he himself had gathered.<sup>1</sup> Luke himself tells us how assiduously he garnered accounts from "those who were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word," i. 1-4. He also tells us in this same *preface* how scrupulously he has traced all things to their sources so as to present an orderly account of events, and this with a view to furnishing his readers with a sound basis for the teaching they have received. He nowhere tells us who these witnesses were, but the very special knowledge he betrays of events which could only have been known to a few privileged persons shows us that he had access to first-hand information. This is particularly the case with the story of the Sacred Infancy, chs. i-ii.<sup>2</sup> None save the Mother of God herself could have told him the details of the Annunciation, of the Visit to Elizabeth, of the Birth, the Finding in the Temple, etc. The Mother's touch is discernable in many portions of this narrative, i. 56, 80, ii. 19, 35, 48, 51. Indeed it would be no exaggeration to say that we have in places her very words, *e.g.* i. 28-38, where if the pronouns are read in the first person instead of the third, we seem to have Mary's own first-hand account of events known to herself alone.<sup>3</sup> Another special "source" hinted at by St. Luke is some person in official position at Herod's court; only thus can we explain his account—peculiar to himself—of what took place at our Lord's trial; see, too, Acts xii. 1-4, 19-23. Was Luke's informant "Manahen, Herod's foster-brother," Acts xiii. 1? Again, we note Luke's peculiar knowledge of Christ's work in Samaria and Peræa, ix. 51-xviii. 34. At the same time the limitations of his information are very marked. How often he speaks of "a certain place," *e.g.* iv. 42, v. 12, ix. 52, x. 38, xi. 1, etc. He does not give the

<sup>1</sup> See Gal. i. 18-23.

<sup>2</sup> *Cp.* Lagrange, *R.B.* April, 1895, pp. 160-185.

<sup>3</sup> Thus note how Tertullian seems to say that the Genealogy given in Luke iii. is that of the Mother of God, "secundum Mariæ censum," *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 1; *P.L.* II. 362, and *Adv. Judæos*, IX. "per Mariam . . . censendum." *P.L.* II. 624. See also Ramsay, "Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?" pp. 80-90; also Sanday, *Expository Times*, April, 1903. For the very strong tradition that St. Luke was an artist and actually painted the famous portrait of the Blessed Virgin preserved in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, see Plummer, *St. Luke*, pp. xxi-xxii.; and note St. Thomas' remark, *Summa Theologica*, IIIa. XXV. iii *ad* 4 m.

name because he did not know it; he mentions Naim, vii. 11, the "land of the Gerasenes," viii. 26, Bethsaida, ix. 10, because he knew them. We have a striking instance of these limitations of Luke's knowledge in xvi. 18 and xvii. 2; in the latter passage the "little ones" are introduced irrelevantly, in the former the words about divorce seem out of place. But a comparison with Matt. xix. and Mark x. will show us that these two verses are but the conclusion of two discourses which our Lord held in Peræa; Luke had heard of these two declarations and he knew they were delivered in Peræa, but apparently he did not know the circumstances under which they were spoken. It is surely better to say that we have here an instance of Luke's limited knowledge than to suppose that he deliberately clipped off the conclusions to two discourses and inserted them haphazard without their context.<sup>1</sup>

It is worth while noting the precise method of dating adopted in iii. 1. For Luke synchronizes an Imperial ruler, Tiberius Cæsar, an Imperial Procurator, Pilate, three native princes, Herod, Philip and Lysanias, two ecclesiastical rulers, Annas and Caiphas. A second-century writer would never have dared thus to court disaster. He would have had to project his "history" into the past much in the same fashion as the reputed seventh century B.C. framer of Deuteronomy is thought by most modern critics to have projected his work into the fourteenth century B.C. This would have been a daring essay in literary inventiveness on the part of the seventh century writer, but it pales before the daring demanded of a writer of the second century A.D. who would present us with a narrative clothed in the historical, ecclesiastical, imperial, and local historical framework of the first fifty years of the first century, A.D. For it would be difficult to imagine a history more complicated than that of Palestine during those fifty years. The supreme government, the local administration, the taxation, the language, the religion, the methods of calculating time, as well as a multitude of social usages, were all of them double, or in some instances treble, so that the social fabric was a medley of things Roman, Greek and

<sup>1</sup> For St Luke's "sources" see Lagrange, *R.B.* January, 1895, and January. 1896.



Jewish. Thus, to take but one point, that of Government ; within the space of some fifty years the Government of Palestine was (a) a monarchy under a native prince, Herod the Great, (b) a set of principalities under native rulers, (c) partly under native rulers, partly under Roman Governors, (d) a kingdom under a native ruler, Agrippa I., (e) directly under Roman rule, yet with a native prince directing ecclesiastical affairs.

On nearly every point where Luke has touched on these facts his statements have been called in question, yet on no one of them has he been proved in error, though confirmatory evidence for his statements has naturally not always been forthcoming. The point to be insisted on, however, is that until he has been found wanting, and proved to be so by absolutely conclusive evidence, Luke is, humanly speaking, as good an authority for his statements as are the profane writers, Tacitus, Suetonius, Strabo, etc., as well as the Jewish writer Josephus. Indeed he is a safer authority—still humanly speaking—than are the profane writers, since he is treating professedly of things Palestinian concerning which he had, as he tells us, laboured to acquire exact information, whereas the profane writers only treat of these things by accident and, as it were, from without.<sup>1</sup>

### C. The Language of St. Luke.

i. As a Greek, and as St. Paul's disciple, we shall expect Luke to have a Greek vocabulary which is (a) peculiarly his own, and (b) remarkably Pauline in tone. To take but a few examples :

ἐπαγγελία, Luke xxiv. 49, occurs 8 times in Acts, 26 times in St. Paul's Epistles, in 2 Pet. iii. 4, 9, in 1 John i. 5, and 14 times in the Epistle to the Hebrews. Thus it is a Lukan word, a Pauline word, and one especially characteristic of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Ὑπάρχω occurs 7 times in Luke, 27 in Acts, 11 in St. Paul, 1 in James ii. 15, and 3 in 2 Peter ; ἀποφθέγγομαι only in Acts ii. 4, 14, xxvi. 25 ; γνωστός in Luke ii. 44, xxiii. 49, 9 times in Acts, and elsewhere only in John xviii. 15-16 ; ὑπολαμβάνω, twice in Luke and twice in Acts ; μεθίστημι, once each in Luke and Acts, twice in St. Paul ; καταργέω, a great Pauline word—it occurs some 26 times in his Epistles—only occurs elsewhere in Luke xiii. 7 ; καταγγέλλω, 10 times in Acts,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lesêtre, *La Méthode Historique de S. Luc*, R.B. 1892, p. 171 ff. ; Rose, R.B. 1899, 219 ff.

7 in St. Paul; ὑποστρέφω in Mark xiv. 40, 20 in Luke, 10 in Acts, twice in St. Paul; ὀρίζω in Luke xxii. 22, 5 in Acts, twice in St. Paul; ἀνίστημι, 6 in Matthew, 17 in Mark, 27 in Luke, 7 in John, 44 in Acts, 8 in St. Paul. As examples, too, of Lukan or Pauline words note ἡμοθυμαδόν, 10 in Acts, 1 in Paul; παραχρῆμα, 2 in Matthew, 10 in Luke, 7 in Acts; πλήθω, 10 in Luke, 2 in Matthew, 1 in John, 6 in Acts; πλήθος, 2 in Mark, 8 in Luke, 2 in John, 17 in Acts, 1 each in *Hebrews*, *Peter* and *James*; κατάγω, 1 each in Luke and Paul, 8 in Acts; κατέρχομαι, 2 in Luke, 10 in Acts, 1 in *James*; συνέχω, 1 in Matthew, 6 in Luke, 3 in Acts, 2 in Paul; συμβάλλω, 2 in Luke, 4 in Acts; παρρησιάζω, 7 in Acts, 2 in Paul; διερμενένω, 1 in Luke, 1 in Acts, 4 in Paul; συνενδοκέω, 1 in Luke, 1 in Acts, 3 in Paul; κατηχέω, 1 in Luke, 3 in Acts, 3 in Paul; συμβιβάζω, 2 in Acts, 4 in Paul; ἐξουθενέω, 2 in Luke, 1 in Acts, 8 in Paul; κολλάω, 2 in Luke, 5 in Acts, 3 in Paul; καταντάω, 9 in Acts, 4 in Paul; μὴ γένοιτο, 1 in Luke, 10 in Paul.<sup>1</sup>

ii. It has been generally held that St. Luke's Gospel contains many *Aramaic* expressions and turns of phrase. And it has been claimed that these are particularly noticeable in those passages where he is patently dependent on Hebrew-speaking informants, *e.g.* in chs. i. ii. Certainly his very frequent use of καὶ ἐγένετο, which is but a Greek form of the Hebrew וַיְהִי, would seem to support this contention. But of late years the study of the Greek Papyri of the first three centuries A.D. has brought to light the fact that the Greek in common use in Apostolic times was very much that of the New Testament, though it is also true that the latter often derives a Hebrew tinge from the fact that the writers are (*a*) familiar with the Greek of the Septuagint which has preserved many purely Hebrew forms in a Greek dress; (*b*) that they are themselves, consciously or unconsciously, thinking in *Aramaic*. In the case of St. Luke we have perhaps a deliberate imitation of O.T. style, thus note such an expression as ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν "on one of the days," v. 17, viii. 22, xx. 1.<sup>2</sup> The pendulum has swung so violently from "N.T. Greek—a specific variety" to "N.T. Greek—simply the popular parlance of the day," that a certain exaggeration is inevitable. The

<sup>1</sup> For further instances of this Lukan and Pauline vocabulary, see *s.v. Acts*, vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary of the whole question see Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 1906, Vol. I. pp. 16-20; also Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, 1910, Ch. II. pp. 54-66; also his *Bible Studies*, 2nd ed. 1909, Ch. III. section iii.; Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, Cambridge University Press, 1912.

most instructive facts however are (a) the contrast between the polished Greek of Luke's *prologue*, i. 1-4, and the rest of his narrative, and (b) the stylistic Greek of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* combined with its expression of O.T. notions in truly Biblical phraseology. A sense of this adaptation and imitation will probably lead us to a just *via media*.

#### D. The Object and Scope of St. Luke's Gospel.

Just as Mark's Gospel has its own peculiar features owing to its relation to St. Peter, so we shall expect Luke's Gospel to betray the influence of the Apostle of the Gentiles. But his object is not simply to repeat St. Paul's teaching. He tells us clearly what his object is: to set forth the sure basis of those things in which such converts as the Roman Theophilus have been instructed, i. 4. Thus Luke is not a biographer, he is the historian pure and simple. He has laboriously accumulated information regarding the Life and Teaching of Jesus of Nazareth Who claimed to be God, Who proved His claim by His teaching and His works, Who died for us as Man and so redeemed the whole world from sin.<sup>1</sup> In His doctrine such men as Theophilus have believed—presumably owing to the catechetical instruction given them by some one of the Apostles or by one of the early Catechists. They now need more than catechism; they want history, a plain statement of the facts of that marvellous Life of which they have so far heard but the outlines.<sup>2</sup>

Consequently Luke's *Gospel* is essentially an historical document just as his second volume, the *Acts*, is an historical document. But there is a difference between the two documents. The former is the work of a collector of traditions, the latter is the work of one who had seen and

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting how Luke speaks of Christ as "the Lord," vii. 13, x. 1, xi. 39, xii. 42, xiii. 15, xvii. 5, 6, xviii. 6, xix. 8, xxii. 61, xxiv. 34. This accords with the fact that he was not a personal disciple of Christ; for him Christ's humanity was merged in the overwhelming Divinity. This use of the title "Lord" is illustrated by v. 17 where "Lord" stands for Jehovah of the Old Testament.

<sup>2</sup> Thus note St. Jerome: "The *Acts of the Apostles* reads indeed like pure history and unfolds the story of the new-born Church. But when we remember that its author is Luke the physician, 'whose praise is in the Gospel,' then we notice also that every word he writes is the medicine of the languishing soul." *Ep. LII. 8, P.L. XXII. 548.*

heard what he narrates, at least in the main. The former is the history of an individual Person, the latter the history of the spread of His teaching after His death. The former is an expanded catechetical instruction, the latter is the history of a movement. In neither case are the facts given in their entirety. A selection has to be made. In the former case this selection is guided by the needs of the author's readers. They were converts to Christianity and were probably never Jews. They were not acquainted with Judaism nor with Judæa, but they needed to be convinced that the Jew Who died on the Cross died equally for all, whether Jew or Barbarian, whether bond or free. The author's theme is what Jesus of Nazareth "did and taught," Acts i. 1. Yet of many of His sayings and miracles Luke is ignorant; many, of which he was not ignorant, he omits as being beside the purpose he has in view. Of many circumstances, too, whether of time or place, he is perforce ignorant; yet it is the substance that matters, not the circumstances.

But Luke also says that he intends to "write in order" i. 3. Many have jumped to the conclusion that we must therefore possess in the Third Gospel an accurate and precise order of events so that when, for example, Luke places the visit to Nazareth at a point of time in the Public Life of Christ different from that assigned to it by Matthew and Mark we are obliged to say that Luke has the true order. They may be correct, Luke may, that is, have given us in this particular instance what is the true order of events. But the principle invoked is not sound. When Luke says "to write to thee *in order*, καθεξῆς, he only means "in orderly fashion," he cannot mean that his order of events is exact in every detail. For it must not be forgotten that the accuracy demanded of modern historians is a modern product and, unless governed by a due sense of proportion, is apt to lead to grotesque results. Now this "proportion" consists in the just adaptation of the means at hand to the end in view. Luke himself furnishes us with excellent examples of this in i. 56, 65-66, 80, ii. 17-20, iii. 19-20, where he anticipates the chronological order in order to round off his narrative. The same may be the case in ix. 57-62 which would seem to be a compendious narra-

tive of Galilean events inserted here because the Evangelist is about to transplant us into another sphere of Christ's active ministry. Indeed it might well be asked how Luke could have obtained such accurate knowledge as to enable him to present us with the true historical sequence of events. He came late on the scene, he was a gleaner of traditions of which he himself had not been a witness. St. Jerome has some illuminative words on Luke's omissions :

"Luke omitted Paul's visit to Arabia because there the Apostle did no Apostolic work. For Luke is mainly concerned to give us a compendious account of those things which seemed to deal with the Gospel of Christ. . . . What concern is it to me that Paul after Christ's manifestation to him went straight to Arabia? I am not told what he did there. Of what avail, then, to tell me of his going and coming?"<sup>1</sup>

Similarly on Luke's silence regarding the dispute between Peter and Paul at Antioch, Gal. ii. 11-15 :

"Small wonder that Luke should have omitted this since, with the freedom of a historian, he has passed over many things which Paul tells us he suffered. There is surely no contradiction if one writer finds that a certain fact deserves to be narrated whilst another writer passes it over amid a crowd of other things. Thus we know, for example, that Peter was first of all Bishop of the See of Antioch, yet Luke wholly omits to tell us this."<sup>2</sup>

### E. Characteristics of St. Luke's Gospel.

(a) The *Universality of Salvation*, a doctrine so dear to St. Paul, cf. Rom. i. 14, ii. 9-10, Gal. ii. 7, is insisted on by Luke though it is rather implicitly than explicitly stated. Thus note "the whole world" ii. 1, the Genealogy taken right up to God and not stopping at Abraham as does that given by St. Matthew; "lumen ad revelationem Gentium" in Simeon's canticle; ii. 32; the quotation from Isaias and the definite inclusion of the Gentile Widow of Sarepta and of Naaman the Syrian, iv. 18-19, 25-27; the insistence on the moral goodness of the despised Samaritans, x. 30, xvii. 16. cf. ix. 3, and Matthew x. 56; xxi. 17, and Matthew xxiv. 9; note, too, the Mission of the Seventy-two, x.

<sup>1</sup> *Comment. in Ep. ad Gal.* i. 17; P.L. XXVI. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 11; P.L. XXVI. 341. Cf. St. Augustine, *De Consensu*, II. xlii. (89-90), P.L. XXXIV. 1120-1121, and II. lxxiii. (142), P.L. XXXIV. 1146. Also Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. xv. 1; P.G. VII. 917; Tertullian, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. ii-v.; P.L. II. 363-368.

At the same time it is instructive to note how Luke has omitted certain incidents which set forth this universality of salvation in the clearest light, *e.g.* the story of the Syro-Phœnician woman, Matthew xv. 21-28, Mark vii. 24-30. It is conceivable that Luke omits this incident because of the words in Matthew xv. 24, *cp.* Mark vii. 27; but at the same time it should be noted that Luke omits the entire section, Mark. vi. 45-viii. 26. (b) *Tenderness towards the Jews*, another feature of St. Paul's Epistles, *cf.* Rom. ix. 3, and xi, is remarkably shown in Luke's Gospel, *e.g.* in the Parable of the Barren Fig-tree, xiii. 6-9, *cp.* xix. 41, xxiii. 28, and note particularly the omission after vii. 9 of the strong words given in Matthew viii. 11-12 touching the rejection of Israel; *cp.*, also, viii. 13 with the omission of Matthew xiii. 14-15. Note, too, such passages as xix. 41, and the significant omission after xx. 18 of the words given by Matthew, xxi. 43. (c) Luke's Gospel has been justly termed *the Gospel of women*; to him we owe the pen-pictures of our Blessed Lady, of Elizabeth, Anna, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and of the widow of Naim; also the story of the widow's mite, the parable of the importunate widow, the words to the "daughters of Jerusalem," to the infirm woman, xiii. 11-17, and the reference to the women who ministered to Christ. (d) It is also the *Gospel of Prayer*; on no less than nine occasions does Luke mention the fact that our Lord prayed, iii. 21, v. 16, vi. 12, ix. 18, 29, xi. 1, xxii. 32, xxiii. 34, 46; thus note also xxii. 40, as well as the Parables of the *Importunate Friend*, xi. 5-10, of the *Importunate Widow*, xviii. 1-8, of the *Pharisee and the Publican*, xix. 9-14. In connexion with this we cannot fail to note the accent of *joy* and especially of *gratitude* which pervades the whole of St. Luke's narrative; the Canticles in chs. i-ii. are sufficient indication of it. (e) The *Poor* play an important part in this Gospel: note iv. 18, vii. 22 and xiv. 12-14, also the poverty of the Holy Family, ii. 12, 24, as well as Christ's personal dependance upon others, viii. 3. The same feature appears in such Parables as those of the *Unjust Steward*, xvi. 1-12, of the *Prodigal*, xv. 11-32, of the *Rich Fool*, xii. 16-21, and of *Dives and Lazarus*, xvi. 19-31. Note, too, xiv. 21, an addition to the account in Matthew xxii. (f) *Repentant sinners* also figure largely: *e.g.* the



woman that was a sinner in the city, vii. 37, the *Prodigal*, the parable of the *Two Sons*, as also that of the *Two Debtors*, the contrast between the two thieves. Note, too, the frequent reference to the publicans and sinners, iv. 27, xv. 1, xviii. 10, xix. 2, xxiii. 39-43. This is the spirit of St. Paul, see, for example, Rom. ii. 4, v. 8, ix. 23, x. 21, 1. Tim. i. 12-15, etc. Indeed all the above traits find a marked place in St. Paul's Epistles. (g) A feature of St. Luke's Gospel which is too much neglected is the series of *antithetical pictures* he has left us, e.g. Mary and Zachary, Simon and the woman that was a sinner, Martha and Mary, the Pharisee and the Publican, the Good Samaritan and the Priest and the Levite, Dives and Lazarus, the Good Thief and the Bad. Much the same feature is to be found in the Fourth Gospel, q.v.

## F. Analysis of the Gospel.

### I. I-II. THE CONCEPTION, BIRTH AND INFANCY OF THE BAPTIST AND OF CHRIST.

- (a) The Preface, i. 1-4.
- (b) The Angel Gabriel appears to Zachary ; the conception of John the Baptist, i. 5-25.
- (c) The Angel Gabriel appears to the Virgin Mary ; the conception of Christ, i. 26-39.
- (d) The Virgin Mary visits her cousin, Elizabeth ; the *Magnificat*, i. 39-56.
- (e) The birth of John the Baptist ; Zachary sings the canticle *Benedictus* ; the childhood of John, i. 57-80.
- (f) The birth of our Lord, ii. 1-20.
  - 1. The enrolment, 1-5.
  - 2. The birth, 6-7.
  - 3. The angels sing the *Gloria in excelsis* ; the shepherds visit the Infant Saviour, 8-20.
- (g) The circumcision of Christ, ii. 21.
- (h) He is presented in the temple ; Simeon sings the *Nunc dimittis* ; the Prophetess Anna praises God, ii. 22-38.
- (i) They return to Nazareth ; the childhood of Christ, ii. 39-40.
- (j) At twelve years of age He goes to Jerusalem with His parents ; they lose Him, but find Him after three days ; they return to Nazareth ; His growth, ii. 41-52.

### II. III-IV. 13. THE PREPARATION FOR THE MINISTRY.

- (a) The ministry of John the Baptist, iii. 1-20.
- (b) Christ is baptized, iii. 21-22.

(c) The Genealogy of Christ, iii. 23-38.

(d) The Temptation of Christ, iv. 1-13.

### III. IV. 14—VI. 11. THE EARLY GALILEAN MINISTRY TO THE CHOICE OF TWELVE APOSTLES.

(a) He goes to Galilee and Nazareth ; He is rejected, iv. 14-30.

(b) He goes to Capharnaum where He teaches on the Sabbath days. He casts out an unclean spirit, iv. 31-37.

(c) He heals Peter's wife's mother, iv. 38-39.

(d) He then works many cures, iv. 40-41.

(e) A missionary circuit in Galilee, iv. 42-44.

(f) The miraculous draught of fish ; the call of Simon and of James and John, v. 1-11.

(g) He heals a leper, v. 12-16.

(h) He heals one sick of the palsy ; the Pharisees and Scribes oppose Him, v. 17-26.

(i) He calls Levi, v. 27-28.

(j) The feast in Levi's house ; the murmuring of the Pharisees and Scribes ; the question about fasting ; He illustrates His answer by the parables of the patch on the old garment, of the new wine in old bottles, and of the superiority of old wine to new, v. 29-39.

(k) The Second first Sabbath ; the disciples in the cornfield, vi. 1-5.

(l) He heals a man with a withered hand, it was the Sabbath day and the Scribes and Pharisees *were filled with madness*, vi. 6-11.

### IV. VI. 12—VIII. 56. FROM THE CHOICE OF THE TWELVE TILL THEY ARE SENT OUT TO PREACH.

(a) The Choice of the Twelve, vi. 12-16.

(b) The Sermon on the Plain, vi. 17-49.

1. The Introduction, 17-19.

2. Four Beatitudes, 18-23.

3. Four Woes, 24-26.

4. On love of our enemies, 27-38.

5. The similitudes of *the blind leading the blind*, of the mote and the beam, and of the good tree that alone brings forth good fruit, 40-45.

6. Be ye doers and not hearers merely ; illustrated by the parable of the man who built his house on the rock, 46-49.

(c) In Capharnaum He cures at a distance the servant of the Centurion, vii. 1-10.

(d) At Naim He raises the widow's son to life, vii. 11-17.

(e) The message of John the Baptist from his prison, vii. 18-23.

(f) Christ's testimony to the Baptist ; the opposition of the Pharisees and Lawyers ; the similitude of *the children in the market-place*, vii. 24-35.

(g) He dines with Simon the Pharisee ; *a woman that was in the city, a sinner*, anoints His feet and receives the forgiveness of her sins, vii. 36-50.

(h) A missionary circuit in Galilee, viii. 1-11.

1. The holy women who accompanied Him, 1-3.
2. The parable of the Sower, 4-8.
3. He explains it to His disciples, 9-15.
4. The similitude of the candle: *Take care how ye hear*, 16-18.
5. His Mother and His brethren await Him, 19-21.

(i) They cross over to the East. The storm is stilled, viii. 22-25.

(j) He frees a man who is possessed by a *Legion* of devils; the devils go into the swine. The Gerasenes ask Him to depart, viii. 26-39.

(k) They return to the West side. He heals a woman with an issue of blood and raises the daughter of Jairus to life, viii. 40-56.

## V. IX. 1-50. FROM THE MISSION OF THE TWELVE TO THE CLOSE OF HIS PREACHING IN GALILEE.

(a) His commission to the Twelve, ix. 1-5.

(b) The effect of their preaching; Herod's fear, ix. 6-9.

(c) He retires to Bethsaida and there multiplies the loaves for 5000 men, ix. 16-17.

(d) The Confession of St. Peter, ix. 18-21.

(e) The first prediction of the Sacred Passion, ix. 22.

(f) The need of taking up our Cross, ix. 23-27.

(g) The Transfiguration, ix. 28-36.

(h) The cure of the lunatic boy, ix. 37-43.

(i) The second prediction of the Passion, ix. 43-45.

(j) The Apostles dispute as to which shall be the greater in the kingdom. He answers by setting a little child in their midst and teaching them humility, ix. 46-48.

(k) In answer to John: *he that is not against you is for you*, ix. 49-50.

## VI. IX. 51—XIX. 28. THE SAMARITAN AND PERŒAN MINISTRY.

### A. *The First Stage*, ix. 51—xiii. 21.

(a) He sends messengers into a city of the Samaritans; they do not receive Him *because His face was as one going to Jerusalem*; He rebukes James and John for asking that fire should come down from heaven upon them: *You know not of what spirit ye are*, ix. 51-56.

(b) The aspirants who would follow Him, ix. 57-62.

(c) His commission to the Seventy-two disciples, x. 1-16.

(d) The return of the Seventy-two; His warnings to them on the danger of self elation. He thanks His Father that He has revealed Himself to *little ones*, x. 7-24.

(e) The Lawyer's question: *Which is the greatest commandment?* He answers by the parable of the *Good Samaritan*, x. 25-37.

(f) He visits Mary and Martha: *Mary hath chosen the best part*, x. 38-42.

(g) He teaches the Apostles how to pray: the *Pater Noster*; the parable of the *Importunate friend at midnight*, xi. 1-13.

(h) He casts out a devil from a dumb man ; some of the bystanders say that He does so by the power of Beelzebub, others ask for a sign, xi. 14-35.

1. He does not cast out devils by the power of Beelzebub ; the illustration taken from the man who, when once freed from a devil, *taketh to himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself*, xi. 14-26.
2. The woman who, as He said this, exclaimed *Blessed is the womb that bore Thee . . . !* xi. 27-28.
3. No sign shall be given save that of Jonas ; the Queen of Sheba ; the Ninivites shall testify against the unbelieving Jews, for the former believed in Solomon and Jonas respectively, and *behold more than Solomon and Jonas here*, xi. 29-32.
4. The similitude of the *candle*, xi. 32-35.

(i) He is asked to dine with a Pharisee, xi. 37-54.

1. At table He rebukes the Pharisees for their attachment to external ceremonial, 38-44.
2. He rebukes the Lawyers also for their injustice and hypocrisy, 45-52.
3. Their bitterness against him, 53-54.

(j) In the presence of the multitude He warns the disciples and His friends to *beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy*. On confidence in God ; on courage in confessing the Son of Man ; on blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, xii. 1-12.

(k) One asks Him : *Master, speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me*. He bids them beware of all covetousness and proposes to them the parable of the *foolish rich man*, xii. 13-21.

(l) Lessons on trust in Providence, xii. 22-34.

(m) On the need of watchfulness, xii. 35-40.

(n) In answer to Peter's question He sets forth the pictures of the faithful and the unfaithful servants ; He dwells on sins of ignorance ; of the divisions His word would bring about, xii. 41-53.

(o) On the folly of not recognizing the signs of the times, xii. 54-59.

(p) Of the Galileans whom Pilate slew, and of those on whom the tower fell in Siloe ; on the consequent need of penance ; the parable of the *Barren fig-tree*, xiii. 1-9.

(q) On the Sabbath day He cures a woman who had been infirm eighteen years ; He rebukes the ruler of the synagogue for his ill-timed anger, xiii. 10-17.

(r) He proposes the parables of the *Mustard seed* and of the *Leaven*, xiii. 18-22.

## B. The Second Stage, xiii. 22—xvii. 10.

(a) He continues to make His way to Jerusalem ; to the question *whether they are few that are saved*, He replies : *Strive to enter by the narrow gate, many shall seek to enter and shall not be able . . .*, xiii. 23-30.

(b) The Pharisees warn Him that Herod hath a mind to kill Him ; His warning to Herod and to Jerusalem, xiii. 31-35.

(c) He dines with one of the chief Pharisees :

1. There He heals a man with dropsy ; the Pharisees attack Him, xiv. 1-6.
2. Noting their strife for the chief places He sets forth a parable on humility, 7-11.
3. He instructs His host as to whom he should invite to table, 12-15.
4. In answer to one that sat with Him He speaks the parable of the *Great Supper*, 15-24.

(d) To the multitudes who follow Him He dwells on the need of taking up their cross if they would really follow Him. He sets forth the three parables of the *Man who would build a tower*, of the *king who would go to war*, and of the *salt without savour*, xiv. 25-34.

(e) To the Pharisees who murmur that He received publicans and sinners He proposes three parables :

1. *The shepherd who lost one out of his hundred sheep*, xv. 1-7.
2. *The woman who lost one of her ten groats*, xv. 8-10.
3. *The father who lost one of his two sons*, xv. 11-32.

(f) To His disciples He proposes the parable of the *Unjust Steward*, xvi. 1-13.

(g) In answer to the Pharisees who mocked He speaks on self-justification ; He declares that the Law shall not fail, and condemns divorce and re-marriage, xvi. 14-18.

(h) He then sets forth the parable of *Dives and Lazarus*, xvi. 19-31.

(i) Various lessons to His disciples :

1. Woe to those who scandalize little children, xvii. 1-2.
2. On forgiveness of injuries, xvii. 3-4.
3. On the power of faith, xvii. 5-6.
4. Parable of the *Servant ploughing* ; the obligation of doing our duty : *We are unprofitable servants, we have done that which we ought to have done*, xvii. 7-10.

## C. The Third Stage, xvii. 11—xviii. 30.

(a) Still on His way to Jerusalem He heals ten lepers, of whom only one returns to thank Him, xvii. 11-19.

(b) To the Pharisees who ask *when the kingdom of God should come*, He replies *the kingdom of God is within you*, xvii. 20-21.

(c) To the disciples He declares the need of preparing for the coming of the *Day of the Son of Man*, xvii. 22-37.

(d) On prayer ; the parable of the *Importunate Widow and the Unjust Judge*, xviii. 1-8.

(e) On self-justification ; the parable of the *Pharisee and the Publican*, xviii. 9-14.

(f) Little children are brought to Him ; He rebukes the disciples who would have hindered it : *Suffer little children to come to Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven*, xviii. 15-17.

(g) The rich ruler ; on the danger of riches, xviii. 18-27.

(h) In answer to Peter's declaration that they at least have left all things and followed Him, He promises *more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting*, xviii. 28-30.

#### D. The Fourth Stage, xviii. 31—xix. 27.

(a) *Behold we go up to Jerusalem . . .* the last prediction of the Sacred Passion, xviii. 31-34.

(b) As He nears Jericho He cures a blind man who sat by the way-side, begging, xviii. 35-43.

(c) In Jericho He visits Zacheus the publican; he is converted, xix. 1-10.

(d) *Because He was nigh to Jerusalem* He sets forth the parable of the Pounds, xix. 11-27.

#### E. The Fifth Stage, xix. 28—xxi. 38.

(a) His triumphal entry into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday.

1. He enters the city, xix. 28-38.
2. He rebukes the Pharisees who murmur at the way in which the multitude welcomes Him, 39-40.
3. His lament over the doomed city, 41-44.
4. He cleanses the temple, 45-46.
5. He teaches daily in the temple; the opposition of the Chief Priests and Scribes; the attention of the people, 47-48.

(b) The Day of Questions in the Temple, xx. 1-47.

1. The Chief Priests, the Scribes and the Elders ask *By what authority dost Thou do these things?* He retorts with a question about the origin of the baptism of John, 1-8.
2. He adds the parable of *the Husbandmen in the vineyard*; the hatred of the Priests who *knew that He spoke this parable against them*, 9-19.
3. They plot against Him and firstly send spies who ask: *Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Cæsar or not?* 20-26.
4. The Sadducees then come with a question about *the resurrection of the dead*, 27-38.
5. A Scribe praises Him, but He asks the Scribes to explain in what sense Christ is called *the Son of David*. He adds a terrible rebuke to the Scribes, 39-47.
6. The widow's mite, xxi. 1-4.

(c) He foretells the destruction of Jerusalem and dwells upon The Last Things. The parable of *The fig-tree*, xxi. 5-36.

(d) He teaches daily in the temple, but spends the night on Mount Olivet, xxi. 37-38.

### VII. XXII—XXIII. THE STORY OF THE SACRED PASSION.

(a) Judas sells Him, xxii. 1-6.

(b) The preparation for the Passover, xxii. 7-13.



## ℥) The Last Supper.

1. The Holy Eucharist, xxii. 14-20.
2. He foretells His betrayal, xxii. 21-24.
3. The disciples dispute as to which is the greater ; He teaches them humility, but promises that in His kingdom they shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel, xxii. 24-30.
4. His special prayer for Simon, though He foretells that he will betray Him, xxii. 31-34.
5. He tells them that henceforth they *are* to carry purse and scrip though on their previous mission they had not needed them. The two swords, xxii. 35-38.

(d) He goes out to Mount Olivet ; the Agony in the garden, xxii. 39-46.

(e) The arrest, xxii. 47-53.

(f) They lead Him to the High Priest ; Peter's denials, xxii. 54-62.

(g) He is mocked in the High Priest's court, xxii. 63-65.

(h) The trial before the High Priest in the early morning, xxii. 66-71.

(i) He is led to Pilate, xxiii. 1-6.

(j) Pilate sends Him to Herod ; Herod and his court mock Him ; He is sent back to Pilate ; Herod and Pilate are thus reconciled, xxiii. 7-12.

(k) Pilate finds no cause in Him ; but Barabbas is preferred before Him ; He is sentenced to death, xxiii. 13-25.

(l) He goes out to Calvary ; Simon helps Him to carry His cross ; the women of Jerusalem lament over Him ; His words to them, xxiii. 26-32.

(m) The Crucifixion ; the bystanders mock Him ; so also does the wicked thief, but he is reproved by the Good Thief who receives the promise : *This day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise.* He gives up the ghost, xxiii. 33-46.

(n) The centurion glorifies God : *Indeed this was a just man !* The repentance of the crowd. The holy women who had accompanied Him. Joseph of Arimathea buries Him. The women prepare spices for His embalming, xxiii. 47-56.

## VIII. XXIV. THE RESURRECTION AND ASCENSION.

(a) Mary Magdalen, Joanna, Mary of James, and the other women, find the tomb empty. The vision of angels who remind them that He had foretold His Passion and His Resurrection, xxiv. 1-9.

(b) They tell what they have seen to the eleven ; but they disbelieve. Peter, however, goes and finds the tomb empty. His bewilderment, xxiv. 9-12.

(c) He appears to Cleophas and another as they journey to Emmaus : *they knew Him in the breaking of bread*, xxiv. 13-35.

(d) While they are recounting all this to the rest who say that He has risen indeed and hath appeared to Simon, He stands in the midst, *He shows them His Hands and His feet.* Their joy and yet their doubt. He eats with them. Then He opens their minds that they may understand the Scriptures ; He gives them their final commission and adds : *And*

*you are witnesses of these things.* Then He promises them the Holy Spirit and finally *leads them out as far as Bethania* where He ascends into heaven. They go back with joy and spend their time in the temple, xxiv. 36-53.

### G. The Integrity of the Gospel of St. Luke.

One of the boldest attempts at mutilation of the Gospel was that made by Marcion at the opening of the second century. But this very attempt resulted in setting forth in clearer light than ever the Apostolic origin of Luke's narrative. For Marcion rejected all the Gospels save that of Luke, and he accepted his Gospel simply because he believed it to represent St. Paul's teaching. But just as he 'edited' his *Apostolicon*, or collection of St. Paul's Epistles, so did he mutilate Luke's Gospel. His most noticeable excision concerned the chapters which told of the Sacred Infancy; for this he was sternly called to account by St. Irenæus who describes him as "mutilating the Gospel according to Luke and removing all that was therein written concerning the Lord's generation, as removing, too, many things from the teaching contained in the Lord's discourses . . . and persuading his disciples that he himself was more truthful than the Apostles who gave us the Gospel."<sup>1</sup> Similarly Tertullian who dubs Marcion "that gnawing mouse from Pontus who nibbled at the Gospels."<sup>2</sup> But a mutilation such as this presupposes the previous existence of the thing mutilated, and Tertullian and Irenæus were not slow to point this out.<sup>3</sup>

The authenticity of xxii. 43-44, *And there appeared to Him an Angel. . . . And His sweat . . . upon the ground.* These two verses have been called in question but on quite insufficient grounds. A brief discussion of the case will show how misleading the evidence of MSS. may be at times. (a) *MSS. evidence*: the first corrector of *Sinaiticus*,  $\aleph$ , apparently deleted it; it is not in *Vaticanus*, *B*, nor in *R* and *T*. *Alexandrinus* has it in the margin, not in the text.

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hæv.* I. xxvii. 2; *P.G.* VII. 688; *cp.* Origen, *Tom. X.* 4 in *Joan.* *P.G.* XIV. 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, I. i.; *P.L.* II. 247-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* IV. iv-v.; *cp.* Epiphanius, *Hæv.* I. iii. 11: *P.G.* XLI. 709.

The recently discovered *Detroit* MSS. omit it.<sup>1</sup> (b) *Versions*: most Bohairic (Coptic) MSS. omit it; some Sahidic (Coptic) omit it. The *Sinaitic* Syriac also omits it. \ The Old-Latin *Cod. Brixianus*, *f*, omits it. (c) *Patristic* evidence: St. Cyril of Alexandria<sup>2</sup> and St. Ambrose<sup>3</sup> omit this passage in their expositions of St. Luke's Gospel.

But on the other hand in favour of the passage: (a) *MSS.* all the other Greek MSS. save those above mentioned retain it, the second corrector of *Sinaiticus* replaces it, though the first corrector had deleted it. (b) *Versions*: the remaining Syriac versions have it; many Coptic also; while of the enormous mass of Old-Latin and vulgate Latin MSS. all retain it save *f*, see above. (c) *Patristic* evidence: St. Justin in the second century says explicitly: "In the memorials which, as I have said, were drawn up by His Apostles and their followers, it is said that sweat, like drops of blood, flowed from Him."<sup>4</sup> This is not so much a quotation as an allusion, but none of the Gospels save Luke's has this clause. Similarly St. Irenæus alleges as proof of Christ's perfect human nature "else He would not have sweated drops of blood."<sup>5</sup> Both Justin and Irenæus give the striking word *θρόμβοι* as in Luke. At a later period, however, many copies of the Gospels must have lacked these words. For St. Hilary says: "We are well aware that in very many Greek and Latin copies there is no word about the coming of the Angel nor about His sweat of blood."<sup>6</sup> Hilary says *very many* lack this passage, St. Jerome conversely: "In *some* copies, both Greek and Latin, we find Luke writing 'And there appeared . . . upon the ground.'"<sup>7</sup> St. Epiphanius also quotes it.<sup>8</sup>

Thus the early Patristic evidence favours the passage, the later expresses doubts or, as in the case of St. Ambrose

<sup>1</sup> *R.B.* July, 1908, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam*, P.G. LXXII.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, P.G. X. 60-61; P.L. XV. 1819. It is given however in a fragment attributed, with great probability, to Denis of Alexandria, see P.G. X. 1591.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial.* ciii., P.G. VI. 717.

<sup>5</sup> *Adv. Hæv.* III. xxii. 2, P.G. VII. 957.

<sup>6</sup> *De Trin.* X. 41, cf. P.L. XXIII. 551 note.

<sup>7</sup> *Dial. adv. Pelagianos*, II. 16, P.L. XXIII. 552.

<sup>8</sup> *Ancoratus* xxxi., P.G. XLIII. 73.

and St. Cyril, appears unconscious of its existence.<sup>1</sup> It is all the more remarkable that whereas several Latin Fathers show the existence of doubts touching the passage yet all the Latin MSS. save *f* retain it. A curious side-light is thrown on the difficulty by the fact that all known *Evangelistaria* or "gospel-books" have this passage after Matthew xxvi. 39, and the same is the case with four Cursive Greek MSS. which have the same order. It appears that on Holy Thursday it was the custom to read this passage after Matthew xxvi. 39, while on the Tuesday after Sexagesima, when Luke xxii. was read, this passage was then omitted. This fact would go far to explain the omission of the two verses in many copies of Luke known to Hilary and Jerome.<sup>2</sup>

For further textual difficulties, *e.g.* in xxii. 19-20, *Which is given for you . . . . . shed for you*, where, in order to obviate the difficulty arising from the two cups mentioned by Luke, some MSS. and Versions omit or transpose sections of the Text; and xxiii. 34, *And Jesus said: Father forgive them for they know not what they do*, another passage which on insufficient grounds has been called in question, see the *Commentaries*.

## H. Theology of the Gospel.

### (a) God and the Father:

He is the Most High, i. 32, vi. 35, viii. 28; the Lord God, i. 32; the Lord their God, i. 16; the Lord, ii. 29; the Lord God of Israel, i. 68; He is mighty, i. 49, 51, 52, ix. 44; Holy, i. 49; the "brightness" of God, ii. 9; the Father, vi. 36, ix. 26, 35, x. 21, 22, xi. 1, 13, xii. 30, 32, xxii. 29, 42, xxiii. 46, xxiv. 49; He alone is Good, xviii. 19; the God of the living, xx. 38; His mercy, i. 25, 50, 54, 58, 72, 78; is the Lord of heaven and earth, x. 21; He has delivered all to the Son, x. 22; is known by the Son, x. 22; He gives the Holy Spirit, xi. 13; the Wisdom of God, xi. 49; the Charity of God, xi. 42; He knows our needs, xii. 30; and our hearts, xvi. 15; the Justice of God, xii. 31; He spoke to our Fathers, i. 55, 70; the Promise of the Father, xxiv. 45; He is faithful to His Promises, i. 54, 55, 72-74; the

<sup>1</sup> It is unfair to quote Origen as ignoring the passage, for in his translated *Homilies* on St. Luke his last comment is on chap. xx.

<sup>2</sup> See Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, II. 64-67. Also Hammond, *Outlines of Textual Criticism*, p. 112, fifth edition; Plummer, *International Critical Commentary, St. Luke*, p. 544.

Law of the Lord, ii. 39; the Salvation of God, iii. 6, *cp.* i. 47; the grace of God, ii. 40; His power, iii. 8, xviii. 27, xxii. 69; He alone forgives sins, v. 21; the counsel of God, vi. 30; He has done great things, i. 49, viii. 39; has hidden things from the wise and revealed them to the simple, x. 21; nothing is forgotten before God, xii. 6; He showed mercy to Elizabeth, i. 58; His Hand was with the Baptist, i. 66; Christ is the Lord's, ii. 26, ix. 20; He is the Holy One of God, iv. 34; the word of the Lord, iii. 2, iv. 4, v. 2, viii. 1, 21, xi. 28; Christ works miracles by the finger of God, xi. 20; God feeds the ravens, xii. 24; He clothes the grass of the field, xii. 28; the Father bestows a kingdom, xii. 32, xxii. 29; He will revenge His elect, xviii. 7; the Kingdom of God, iv. 43, vi. 20, 28, viii. 1, 10, ix. 2, 11, 27, 60, 62, x. 9, 11, xi. 20, xii. 31, xiii. 18, 20, 28, 29, xiv. 15, xvi. 16, xvii. 20, 21, xviii. 16-17, 24, 25, 29, xix. 11, xxi. 31, xxii. 16, 18, xxiii. 51; the Children of God, xx. 36; the Way of God, xx. 21; the things that are God's, xx. 25; we cannot serve God and Mammon, xvi. 13; the wicked are an abomination to God, xvi. 15; we must adore the Lord God, iv. 8; must not tempt the Lord God, iv. 12; Gabriel stands before God, i. 19; he is sent from God, i. 26; the Angels of God, xii. 8-9, xv. 10; Zachary and Elizabeth were just before God, i. 6, 8; the Baptist is to go before the Lord, i. 15, 17, 76; Christ grows in grace before God, ii. 52; Mary has found grace with God, i. 30; the message to her is from the Lord, i. 45, *cp.* ii. 15; she is the handmaid of the Lord, i. 38; she magnifies the Lord, i. 46; love of God, x. 27; fear of God, i. 50, xviii. 2, 4, xxiii. 40; we must be rich towards God, xii. 21; the elect of God, xxiii. 35, *cp.* xviii. 7; blessing God, i. 64, ii. 13, 14, 20, 28, 38, v. 25, 26, vii. 16, 29, xiii. 13, xvii. 18, 18, xviii. 45, xix. 37, 38, xxiii. 47, xxiv. 53.

### (b) *The Christology:*

Christ is the Son of God, i. 35, iii. 22, iv. 3, 9, 41, viii. 28, ix. 26, 35, x. 21, 22, xxii. 42, 69, xxiii. 34, 46; the Son of the Most High, i. 32, viii. 28; My Beloved Son, iii. 22, ix. 35; He saw Satan falling from heaven, x. 18; He is the Son of David, i. 32, ii. 4, 11, xviii. 38, 39, xix. 41, 44; the Son of Man, v. 24, vi. 5, vii. 34, ix. 26, 44, 56, xii. 8, 40, xvii. 22, 24, 26, 30, xix. 10, xxi. 27, 36, xxii. 22, 69, xxiv. 7; He is the Christ, ii. 11, 26, iv. 41, ix. 20, xxii. 26, xxiii. 2, 35, 39; the Christ of God, ix. 20; His Name is Jesus, i. 31, ii. 21; "Jesus of Nazareth," iv. 34, xxiv. 19; He shall be great, i. 32; shall reign for ever, i. 32-33; is the Holy One, i. 35, iv. 34; the Orient, i. 78; the Saviour, ii. 11, ix. 56, xix. 10; is addressed as "Lord," i. 43, 76, v. 8, 12, vi. 5, vii. 6, ix. 54, 61, x. 17, 40, xi. 1, xii. 40, xiii. 23, xvii. 36, xix. 8, xxii. 33, 38, xxiii. 42; as "Master," v. 8, viii. 24, 45, ix. 38, x. 25, xii. 13, xvii. 13, xx. 21, xxi. 7, xxii. 11; is spoken of as "the Lord," ii. 11, v. 17, vii. 31, x. 1, 39, 41, xii. 37, 41, xiii. 15, xvii. 5, 6, xviii. 6, xix. 8, 31, 34, xxii. 31, 61, xxiv. 3; He grew in wisdom and age, ii. 40, 52; is mightier than the Baptist, iii. 16; full of the Holy Spirit, iv. 1; is led by the Spirit, iv. 1, 14, 18; is Lord of the Sabbath, vi. 5; is a Prophet, vii. 39, xxiv. 19; is mighty, xxiv. 19; is greater than Solomon, xi. 31; than Jonas, xi. 32; His word shall not pass away,

xxi. 33 ; He teaches the way of God in truth, xx. 21 ; is foretold in Holy Scripture, xxiv. 27 ; is the Elect of God, xxiii. 35 ; foretells His Passion, ix. 22, 44, xvii. 25, xviii. 31-33, xxiv. 7 ; also His Resurrection, ix. 22, xviii. 33, xxiv. 7, 21 ; His Passion was necessary, xxiv. 26, 46 ; the "days of His assumption" approach, ix. 51, *cf.* xiii. 32 ; He bestows power, ix. 2, x. 19, xxi. 15, xxiv. 49 ; casts out devils by the finger of God, xi. 20 ; is a King, xix. 38, xxiii. 2 ; is King of the Jews, xxiii. 37-38 ; men shall be delivered up for His Name, xxi. 12, 17 ; we must be worthy to stand before Him, xxi. 36 ; the Temple is His house, xix. 46 ; He institutes the Holy Eucharist, xxii. 19-20 ; He bestows a kingdom on His followers, xxii. 29, xxiii. 42-43 ; they shall sit at His table, xxii. 30 ; He rises from the dead, xxiv. 6, 64 ; He will send the Promise of the Father, xxiv. 49 ; He ascends into heaven, xxi. 51 ; He will come again, xvii. 22-24, 30, xxi. 27, xxii. 69.

### (c) *The Holy Spirit :*

Is in John the Baptist, i. 15 ; came upon Mary, i. 35 ; on Elizabeth, i. 41 ; on Zachary, i. 67 ; on Simeon, ii. 25-27 ; will come in Baptism, iii. 16 ; is in Christ, iii. 22, iv. 1, 14, 18 ; Christ rejoices in the Holy Spirit, x. 21 ; is given by the Father, xi. 13 ; will teach all, xii. 12 ; sin against the Holy Spirit, xii. 10 ; He will come to the Apostles, xxiv. 49.

### (d) *The Ministry of the Angels :*

An Angel appears to Zachary, i. 13-20 ; to Mary, i. 26-38 ; to the shepherds, ii. 9-15 ; their providential care of us, iv. 10, 11 ; will assist at the Judgment, ix. 26, xii. 8-9 ; rejoice at our repentance, xv. 10.

## J. Bibliography.

In addition to the works mentioned in the text the student will do well to consult various papers in the *Revue Biblique*. For a sudden *volte-face* by Harnack, who now accepts many positions formerly repudiated by modern critics, see *Lukas der Arzt*, 1906, reviewed in *R.B.* 1906, p. 644, translated into English, *Luke the Physician*, *Crown Theological Library*, 1907. For a study of Luke's relations to Matthew and Mark see Wright's *Gospel according to St. Luke in Greek*, 1900.



## CHAPTER XIV

### THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN

- A. St. John the Evangelist.
  - B. Biography and Traditional Notices of St. John.
  - C. Analysis of the Gospel.
  - D. Points to be noted in the Study of the Gospel.
  - E. The Fourth Gospel and the Synoptic Narrative.
  - F. The Historical Accuracy of the Discourses.
  - G. The Authenticity of the Fourth Gospel from Sources Extrinsic to the Gospel.
  - H. The same shown from the Gospel itself.
    - I. The Authenticity of Particular Portions.
  - J. The Style of the Gospel : St. John's Greek.
  - K. The Theology of the Gospel.
  - L. Bibliography.
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#### A. St. John the Evangelist.

It is essential to grasp the details of his life, scanty though they are, if we would appreciate John's *Gospel*. His parents were Zebedee and Salome, Galileans, Matt. iv. 21, x. 3, xvii. 56, Mark xv. 40; they were apparently well to do,<sup>1</sup> Mark i. 20, John xix. 27. John was presumably younger than his brother St. James the Greater if we may judge by the order of their names in the lists of the Apostles. His Galilean origin explains many features in his life; for the Galileans were regarded as simple and illiterate, John vii. 52, Acts iv. 13. Hence a certain spontaneity and directness of character which is particularly noticeable in

<sup>1</sup> St. Jerome, *Ep.* CXXVII. 5; *P.L.* XXII.

the case of this Evangelist; we see this in the promptness with which he obeyed the hint of the Baptist, i. 35-39, and with which he accepted the fact of Christ's resurrection, xx. 2-8. The master had given to the two brothers the title of *Boanerges* or "Sons of Thunder," Mark iii. 17, a title which in the Hebrew idiom signifies "the Voice of God," we see traces of a corresponding vehemence of speech and thought in such passages as Luke ix. 49, 54, and Mark ix. 37. And while John is essentially the Apostle of love he can yet be severe in his condemnations of heresy, Apoc. vi. 10 and throughout, *cf.* also I. John iv. 1, and II. John 10; see also the legend referred to below.

In the course of the Gospel story we can trace the gradual development of John's character: he is astonished at the draught of fish, Luke v. 10; he learns that the spirit of indignation is not that of Christ, Luke ix. 55; any false notions he may have cherished regarding the future kingdom of Christ are dissipated, Mark x. 35, Matt. xx. 20, and in the emphatic *possumus* with which the two brothers reply to the question *Can ye drink of the chalice that I drink of?* we can almost see the leap from the natural to the supernatural standpoint, to that vantage ground from which the author of the last Gospel looks out upon the world—in the light of the Gospel. Throughout the Gospel-narrative St. John occupies a privileged position; he is one of the three especially chosen to witness the cure of Peter's wife's mother, Mark i. 29, the raising of the daughter of Jairus, Luke viii. 51, and the Transfiguration, Luke ix. 28; to the same three—with Andrew—the discourse touching the *Last Things* was delivered, Mark xiii. 3, and the same three are the intimate witnesses of the Agony in the garden, Mark xiv. 33. He was united in bonds of the closest friendship with Peter: together they prepared the Last Supper, Luke xxii. 8, it is Peter who urges John to enquire who the traitor may be, John xiii. 23-25, together they run to the tomb, John xx. 2-9, it is John who obtains for his friend admission to the court of the High Priest, xviii. 15-16, they head the list of the Apostles, Acts i. 13, he is with Peter when the latter works his miracle on the lame man, Acts iii. 1-iv. 23; St. Paul calls him one of the "pillars" of the Church, Gal. ii. 9. Above all he is "the Beloved

Disciple," John xiii. 23, xix. 26, xx. 2, xxi. 7, 20; and, by a natural consequence, it is to him that Christ's Mother is committed at the last, John xix. 27, and the request made in simplicity of heart long ago, Mark x. 37, received a sublime fulfilment when he and his mother stood at the foot of the Cross. In the early days of the Church John was, as we have seen, with Peter when he cured the lame man, Acts iii. 1-iv. 23, and they two were sent by the Church into Samaria, viii. 14. But from this time on the Evangelist figures no more in the Apostolic pages. For his portrait as revealed in his *Gospel*, in his *Epistles* and in his *Apocalypse* see below.

Tradition has preserved for us several legends which are quite in harmony with John's character. Thus St. Irenæus tells us that at Ephesus John encountered the heresiarch Cerinthus in the baths, whereupon he rushed out saying: "Let us fly, lest even the bath-house fall down, for Cerinthus, the enemy of truth, is within";<sup>1</sup> this well accords with Luke ix. 54. That the Evangelist resided for long at Ephesus is as certain as anything can be, thus St. Irenæus refers to it in the passage just quoted and in several other places; so also Clement of Alexandria<sup>2</sup> refers to it, and takes occasion to tell the beautiful and characteristic story of St. John's pursuit of a robber who had once been his disciple. To St. Jerome we owe the touching account of the Evangelist's declining years and of his oft-repeated words: "Little children, love ye one another!" and of how he excused himself for its constant repetition by saying: "It is the Lord's command and if it be done it is enough!"<sup>3</sup> Tertullian has preserved the tradition that at Rome St. John was let down into a cauldron of boiling oil but emerged unscathed,<sup>4</sup> and St. Jerome refers simply to "Ecclesiastical Histories" for this statement.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most beautiful of all the legends concerning him of whom the Lord had said, "What if I will have him to remain till I

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Quis Dives*, XLII.; cf. *H.E.* III. xiii. 5, also Origen, *Tom. III. in Genesim*, ed. Delarue, II. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Com. on Galat.* vi. 10, *P.L.* XXVI. 463.

<sup>4</sup> *De Præscriptionibus*, XXXVI.; cf. *s.v. Apocalypse*.

<sup>5</sup> *Com. in Matt.* xxi. 23, *P.L.* XXVI. 143; but cf. *Adv. Jovin.* I. xxvi., *P.L.* XXIII. 247, where he refers to Tertullian for this statement.

come?” is preserved by St. Augustine, who tells us that according to a persistent tradition John does not lie dead at Ephesus but merely sleeps in his tomb there, and that his breath as he sleeps gently stirs the soil above. “If we can believe,” he says, “that Moses is not dead, since his tomb no man can find (Deut. xxxiv. 6), and he appeared at the Transfiguration with Elias, why should we not believe the same of John of whom it was said: ‘So will I have him remain till I come.’” “It seems to me idle,” concludes Augustine, “to fight against an opinion like this. Let those familiar with the spot go and see if it is true that the earth is thus stirred; and as a matter of fact I have heard the story from responsible men.”<sup>1</sup>

## B. The Main Divisions of the Gospel.

### A. THE PROLOGUE, I. 1-18. THE ETERNAL WORD.

### B. CHRIST’S SELF-REVELATION TO THE WORLD, 1-18—XII. 50.

#### I. He announces Himself, i. 19-iv. 54.

##### (a) Various testimonies to Him, i. 19-ii. 11.

- i. That of the Baptist, i. 19-34.
- ii. That of His disciples, i. 35-51.
- iii. That of His own “signs,” the water is changed into wine, ii. 1-11.

##### (b) The works of Christ, ii. 13-iv. 54.

- i. In Judæa, Nicodemus, ii. 13-iii. 36.
- ii. In Samaria, the Samaritan woman and the people of the city, iv. 1-42.
- iii. In Galilee, the Ruler’s son, iv. 43-54.

#### II. The PERIOD OF CONFLICT, v. 1-xii. 50.

##### (a) Two great miracles which provoke the storm:

- i. In Jerusalem, the healing of the paralytic on the Sabbath, v.
- ii. In Galilee, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, vi.

##### (b) The Great controversy, vii-xii.

##### i. Various manifestations of faith and unfaith, vii-x.

###### (a) At the Feast of Tabernacles, vii-viii.

###### (b) At the Feast of the Dedication, ix-x.

##### ii. The Decisive Judgment, xi-xii.

###### (a) The Last “sign” is afforded the Jews: the raising of Lazarus, xi.

###### (b) The close of the Public Ministry, xii.

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<sup>1</sup> *Tract. in Joan.* CXXIV. 2.

## C. CHRIST'S REVELATION OF HIMSELF TO HIS DISCIPLES, XIII—XXI.

### (a) The Last Supper, xiii-xvii.

- i. His last acts of service to them, xiii. 1-30.
- ii. His last discourses, xiii. 31-xvi.
- iii. Christ's Prayer to His Heavenly Father, xvii.

### (b) The final conflict : victory through death, xviii-xix.

- i. The Betrayal, xviii. 1-11.
- ii. The various Trials, xviii. 12-xix. 16.
- iii. His Crucifixion and Death, xix. 17-42.
- iv. The Risen Life, xx.

### (c) The Epilogue, xxi.

- i. He appears to the disciples collectively ; the miraculous draught of fishes, xxi. 1-14.
- ii. His parting words to individual disciples, xxi. 15-23.
- iii. Concluding words, xxi. 24-25.

Following on the analogy of the *Synoptic Gospels* we might feel tempted to partition out the various portions of the Gospel into :

- A. The Prologue.
- B. The Public Ministry.
- C. The Private Ministry.
- D. The Narrative of the Sacred Passion.
- E. The Resurrection.
- F. The Epilogue.

But a careful examination of the latter portion shows that the chapters which are assigned to the story of the Resurrection are especially concerned with the part played in it by the disciples, and in this sense these chapters, as well as chapters xviii-xix which depict the Sacred Passion, are the natural sequel to chapters xiii-xvii., *viz.* the revelation of Himself which Christ made to the disciples, just as these chapters, again, are the natural outcome of chapters i. 19-xii, the revelation made to the world in general.

## C. Analysis of the Gospel.

### I. THE PROLOGUE, I. 1-18.

The Word of God, *i.e.* the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, has come into this world. He was the true light ; the Baptist who preceded Him was not the true Light but *a burning and a shining lamp*, v. 35.

## II. THE BAPTIST'S EARLY TESTIMONY TO CHRIST ; THE EVENTS PRECEDING THE FIRST PASSOVER, I. 19—II. 12.

(a) The Baptist's testimony before the Pharisees : *I am not the Christ. . . . I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness*, i. 19-28.

(b) “The next day” : *Behold the Lamb of God* ; John declares that he had seen the Holy Ghost descending upon Him, i. 29-34.

(c) “The next day” John repeats this testimony in the presence of *two of his disciples*, Andrew and, perhaps, John. They follow our Lord Who calls them. Simon comes to Him, and his name is changed to Peter, i. 35-42.

(d) “On the following day,” on setting out for Galilee, He calls Philip and Nathaniel, i. 43-50.

(e) “On the third day,” *viz.* from His setting out for Galilee, the marriage-feast at Cana, the miraculous change of the water into wine, ii. 1-11. *This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee, and manifested His glory, and His disciples believed in Him.*

## III. FROM THE FIRST TO THE SECOND PASSOVER, II. 13—IV. 54.

(a) After a few days at Capharnaum He goes to Jerusalem for the *first Passover* ; He cleanses the temple, ii. 13-25.

(b) Nicodemus comes to Him by night ; the doctrine of Baptism , *Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven*, iii. 1-21.

(c) He retires to Judæa ; John is baptizing at Ennon near Salim. John's disciples complain to him of the progress Jesus is making ; the Baptist's renewed testimony : *He must increase but I must decrease*, iii. 22-36.

(d) Owing to the opposition of the Pharisees He withdraws into Galilee, passing through Samaria, iv. 1-4.

(1) His conversation with the woman of Samaria, iv. 5-26.

(2) She returns into the city, 27-30.

(3) His conversation with the disciples : *Lift up your eyes and see the countries, for they are white already to the harvest*, 31-38.

(4) The conversion of the Samaritans, 39-42.

(5) After two days He goes into Galilee and cures the ruler's son who is lying sick at Capharnaum. *This is again the second miracle that Jesus did when He was come out of Judæa into Galilee*, 43-54.

## IV. FROM THE (?) SECOND TO THE THIRD PASSOVER, V. 1-47.

(a) He goes up to Jerusalem for a Feast, *perhaps the Passover* ; at the pool called Probatica He heals the man who had been ill for eight and thirty years, v. 1-15.

(b) The Jews persecute Him because He had healed on the Sabbath, and also because He *said God was His Father, making Himself equal to God*, v. 16-18.



(c) The discourse He makes on this :

- (1) Of the union between the Father and the Son ; the Son shall call men to the resurrection and shall be their Judge, v. 19-30.
- (2) Of the witnesses to His Sonship :  
     The Baptist, v. 33-35.  
     His own works, v. 36.  
     The Father, v. 37-44.  
     Moses, *for he wrote of Me*, v. 45-47.

## V. FROM THE THIRD (?) PASSOVER TO THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES, VI. 1-72.

(a) He crosses the Sea of Galilee ; multiplies the loaves for 5,000 men ; they attempt to make Him king, vi. 1-15.

(b) He comes walking on the sea to the disciples as they labour in rowing, vi. 16-21.

(c) The Jews follow Him to Capharnaum. The discourse in the synagogue and its results, vi. 1-72.

- (1) On *Faith*, vi. 27-47, *cf.* vv. 29, 30, 35, 40, 47.
- (2) On the *Holy Eucharist* as the Bread of Life, vi. 48-52.
- (3) They resent this doctrine but He reiterates it, vi. 53-59.
- (4) The effects of the sermon, vi. 61-72. Many leave Him, but He is content to reiterate His teaching. Peter's Confession of faith : *Lord to whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we have believed and have known that Thou art the Christ the Son of God.* Christ then alludes to Judas who should betray Him.

## VI. FROM THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES TO THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION, VII. 1—X. 21.

(a) The *Feast of Tabernacles* is at hand ; He refuses to go up publicly, but later goes up in private, vii. 1-14.

(b) The Discourses on occasion of the Feast, vii. 15-39.

- (1) They must do the will of God if they would have the power to believe in Him, vii. 17.
- (2) He accuses them of not keeping the Law and of seeking to kill Him, vii. 19-20.
- (3) Many refuse to believe that He is the Messiah on the ground that they know His origin, whereas that of Christ is to be unknown, vii. 27.
- (4) The Pharisees attempt to arrest Him, but *His hour had not yet come* ; the multitude is divided ; some would reject Him because He comes from Galilee, whereas the Christ is to come from Bethlehem ; the disappointment of the rulers at the failure to arrest Him. Nicodemus claims that Christ should at least be heard in His own defence, vii. 28-53.

(d) He goes out to Mount Olivet, but in the morning returns to the temple, where a woman is brought to Him who has been taken in adultery; the Scribes and Pharisees endeavour to entrap Him, viii. 1-11.

(c) The disputation in the Treasury of the temple, viii. 12-20. He is the *Light of the World*; neither is His testimony concerning Himself unsupported, for the Father giveth testimony of Him.

(f) Once more He insists: *I am from above . . . if you believe not that I am He you shall die in your sin*; and again He says in answer to their question: *Who art Thou? The beginning, Who also speak to you. . . . And they understood not that He called God His Father.* He then foreshadows His crucifixion, viii. 21-29.

(g) Many believe in Him; He urges them to perseverance and tells them that then indeed the truth shall make them free. But His enemies retort that they are the *Children of Abraham* and have never been slaves. He urges them to do the *works of Abraham*. They then urge that they are the children of God, whereupon He tells them plainly: *you are of your father the devil.* He defies them to convince Him of sin, viii. 30-47.

(h) The Jews insist: *Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil.* But He answers: *If any man keep My word he shall not see death for ever.* In anger they retort: *Art thou greater than our Father Abraham . . . whom dost thou make Thyself?* At His answer: *Amen. Amen. I say to you, before Abraham was, I am,* they attempt to stone Him but He hides Himself, viii. 48-59.

(i) Then, saying: *As long as I am in the world I am the Light of the world,* He cures a man who has been blind from his youth. The violent opposition of the Pharisees, ix. 1-38.

(j) He rebukes the blindness of the Pharisees, ix. 39-41.

(k) He sets forth the allegory of the good shepherd, x. 1-6; He applies it to Himself; He is the *Door* of the sheepfold, x. 7-10; He is the Good Shepherd, x. 11-18. The disputes of the Jews thereupon, x. 19-21.

## VII. FROM THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION TO THE FOURTH (?) PASSOVER, X. 22—XI. 56.

(a) The disputation in Solomon's Porch, x. 22-38.

(1) The Jews say: *If Thou be the Christ tell us plainly.* He refers to His works as the proof: *You do not believe because ye are not of My sheep . . . no one can snatch them out of the hand of My Father. I and the Father are one,* x. 22-30.

(2) Upon this they attempt to stone Him, but He proves His right to call God His Father, x. 31-38.

(b) He retires to Salem; many believe in Him, x. 39-42.

(c) While there news is brought Him of the death of Lazarus, xi. 1-6.

(1) The disciples urge Him not to go into Judæa, but He tells them that this is to be for a great sign to them. Thomas says: *Let us also go, that we may die with Him,* xi. 7-16.

- (2) He comes to Bethany; Martha's faith : *Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died. He says : I am the Resurrection and the Life ; he that believeth in Me, although he be dead, shall live : and everyone that liveth and believeth in Me shall not die for ever. Mary comes and says, as her sister had said : Lord, if Thou hadst been here, my brother had not died, xi. 17-33.*
- (3) He goes to the tomb ; His prayer to His Father : *Lazarus, come forth ! Many believe in Him, xi. 34-45.*

(d) The Chief Priests and the Pharisees therefore hold a council : *If we let Him alone so, all will believe in Him, and the Romans will come and take away our place and nation. Caiaphas says : You know nothing, neither do you consider that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. From that time they plot to put Him to death, xi. 46-53.*

(e) Jesus retires to a city that is called Ephrem ; the Passover is at hand and many Jews come up to Jerusalem ; their discussions about Him. The Pharisees decide upon His apprehension, xi. 54-56.

(f) The last journey to Jerusalem, xii. 1-50.

- (1) The supper at Bethany ; Mary anoints His feet ; Judas complains of the waste ; the Priests *thought to kill Lazarus also, xii. 1-11.*
- (2) His triumphant entry on Palm Sunday, xii. 12-19.
- (3) The Greeks who wish to see Him ; His discourse on that occasion, xii. 20-50.

He prays His Father to glorify Him ; a voice from heaven answers ; He foretells His crucifixion and urges the bystanders : *Whilst you have the light believe in the light that you may be the children of light, xii. 23-36.*

He hides Himself from them ; the Evangelist's commentary on their unbelief in spite of His miracles ; even those who did believe dared not confess Him, xii. 37-43.

Christ's last declaration in public : *I am come a light into the world . . . even as the Father said unto Me so do I speak, xii. 44-50.*

## VIII. THE LAST SUPPER, XIII—XVII.

(a) The discourse in the supper-room, xiii-xiv.

- (1) He washes the feet of the disciples, xiii. 1-12.
- (2) The discourse : He has done it to give them an example of humility, xiii. 13-20.
- (3) He tells them that one of them is about to betray Him, xiii. 21-30.
- (4) On Judas' departure He holds an intimate discourse with them. The questions of Simon Peter, of Thomas, and of Philip. He promises them the Paraclete : *Arise, let us go hence, xiii. 31-xiv. 31.*

(b) On the way to Gethsemane, xv. 1-xvii. 26.

- (1) He is the True Vine, therefore we must abide in Him, xv. 1-12.
- (2) We are His friends, therefore we must love one another, xv. 13-17.
- (3) The world will hate them, but it has hated Him first, xv. 18-21.
- (4) On the sin of those who reject Him, xv. 22-25.
- (5) The Holy Spirit shall give witness to Him, *and you shall give testimony because you are with Me from the beginning*, xv. 26-27.
- (6) He foretells the persecutions which shall come upon them; the Paraclete however will strengthen them after His departure. The work of the Paraclete, xvi. 1-15.
- (7) The disciples are distressed at His speedy departure; but He promises that He will come again, xvi. 16-24.
- (8) He speaks plainly of Himself and not in *proverbs*; the disciples' faith; He bids them have confidence: *In the world you shall have distress, but have confidence. I have overcome the world*, xvi. 25-33.

(c) Christ's prayer for His disciples, xvii. 1-26.

- (1) He prays that His father may glorify Him, xvii. 1-5.
- (2) That the disciples *may be one as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee; that they also may be one in Us; that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me*, xvii. 6-23.
- (3) He prays that they, too, may be glorified, xvii. 24-26.

## IX. THE SACRED PASSION, XVIII—XIX.

(a) The arrest in the garden. The soldiers fall to the ground when He addresses them. Peter cuts off the ear of the High Priest's servant, xviii. 1-12.

(b) He is led before Annas; Peter's first denial; Christ is struck in the face, xviii. 13-23.

(c) He is led before Caiaphas. Peter's second denial, xviii. 24-27.

(d) He is led before Pilate, xviii. 28-xix. 16.

- (1) Pilate tries to avoid any decision, xviii. 29-32.
- (2) Pilate interviews Him; *Art Thou the king of the Jews? . . . What is truth?* xviii. 33-38.
- (3) Pilate tries to release Him; *I find no cause in Him*. But they prefer Barabbas, xviii. 39-40.
- (4) Pilate hopes to satisfy them by scourging Him; He is crowned with thorns. *I find no cause in Him*, xix. 1-4.
- (5) Pilate brings Him forth crowned with thorns and wearing a purple garment. *Ecce Homo!* But they shout: *Crucify Him! Crucify Him!* Pilate again says *I find no cause in Him*. But they cry out that *He ought to die because He made Himself the Son of God*, xix. 5-7.
- (6) Pilate again interviews Him: *Whence art Thou?* He answers: *Thou shouldest not have any power against Me*

*unless it were given thee from above.* Pilate thenceforth definitely strives to procure His release, but they cry out: *If thou release this man thou art not Cæsar's friend!* xix. 8-11.

- (7) Pilate then yields; he brings Jesus forth and says: *Behold your king!* They shout: *We have no king but Cæsar!* Whereupon Pilate sentences Him to be crucified, xix. 12-16.

(c) His crucifixion and death, xix. 16-30.

- (1) He carries His own cross; the thieves go with Him, xix. 16-18.
- (2) The title on the Cross; Pilate refuses to change it, xix. 19-22.
- (3) The soldiers part His garments among them, xix. 23-24.
- (4) His last words to His Mother, xix. 25-27.
- (5) His thirst; *It is consummated!* He dies, xix. 28-30.

(f) After His death, xix. 31-42.

- (1) His side is pierced *that the Scripture may be fulfilled.* There come forth blood and water, xix. 31-37.
- (2) Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus take Him down from the Cross and bury Him, xix. 38-42.

## X. THE RESURRECTION, XX—XXI.

(a) Mary Magdalen finds the stone rolled away; she tells Simon Peter and the other disciple whom Jesus loved. They run to the sepulchre and find it empty, xx. 1-10.

(b) He appears to Mary Magdalen who had waited without, xx. 11-18.

(c) He appears in the midst of the disciples and shews them His hands and His side. Thomas is not present, xx. 19-23.

(d) After eight days He appears to them when Thomas, who had refused to believe on their testimony, is with them. He convinces Thomas of the truth of His resurrection. Thomas adores Him: *My Lord and my God!* xx. 24-29.

(e) An epilogue; He did many signs which are not written in this book: *But these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His Name,* xx. 30-31.

(f) A fuller *Epilogue* or *Appendix*, xxi.

- (1) The miraculous draught of fishes, xxi. 1-8.
- (2) The meal by the lake-side; the renewal of the promises to Peter. Christ foretells the manner of Peter's death; on Peter asking Him what would be the fate of *that disciple whom Jesus loved, who also leaned on His breast at supper, and said: Lord, who is he that shall betray Thee?* Our Lord answered: *If (So) I will have him to remain till I come, what is it to thee?* xxi. 9-23.
- (3) Final testimony that it is this same disciple who hath written these things, and we know that his testimony is true, xxi. 24-25.

### D. Points to be noted in the Study of the Fourth Gospel.

It is clear that a Gospel composed at the close of the first century must differ very considerably from the earlier *Synoptic Gospels* dating from the middle of the century; for the writer must have had a full acquaintance with the earlier narratives.<sup>1</sup> When, then, he undertook to furnish a further Gospel-narrative he must have had in view a purpose very different from theirs. His outlook, too, on the story of Christ's life must needs have been very different from theirs since while they wrote during the infancy of the Church he wrote at a time when the Church was well established. They had had but a glimpse of what the Church was to be, he had seen it in the full vigour of its life. They had, it is true, grasped the full doctrine concerning Christ, but he had lived in that doctrine, had steeped his soul in it so to speak, and had meditated upon it for seventy years before he penned his story.<sup>1</sup>

The contents, then, of St. John's Gospel will be determined by these two main factors: his outlook—a retrospective one—and the purpose he had in view. Now St. John has in explicit terms told us what was the object of his Gospel: *Many other signs also did Jesus in the sight of His disciples which are not written in this book. But these are written that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in His name,* xx. 30-31.<sup>2</sup> And this purpose, which is so definitely stated,

<sup>1</sup> See Origen, *Tom. X.* 18 in *Joan.*, P.G. XIV. 363; R.B. 1894, p. 53, 1899, p. 232, 1900, January-July, 1901, p. 512; *Expository Times*, April, May, October, 1907, February and March, 1911, January, 1916, etc. Cf. Eusebius, *H.E.* III. xxiv. *ut supra*, and St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* IX., P.L. XXIII. 623.

<sup>2</sup> Thus note Origen: “We dare to say that the first-fruits of all the Scriptures are the Gospels, but that the first-fruits of the Gospels are given us in the Gospel of John. And none can understand the meaning of this Gospel save the man who has lain on Jesus' breast or who from Jesus has received Mary.” *Prol. to Comment. in Joannem*, vi., P.G. XIV. 31; and *Tom. XIII.* 53 in *Joan.*, P.G. XIV. 500. Similarly St. Augustine: “John's goal, however, is more especially the Lord's Divinity wherein He is equal to the Father; and his aim is, especially in his Gospel, to set before men that same Divinity as far as he thought sufficient for men. Hence John far transcends the other three.



must serve as the key to the Gospel; it must have been the guiding principle in the Evangelist's selection of his facts, it must be our guide in our interpretation of those facts. Further, the Gospel must be stamped with the impress of St. John's own peculiar temperament, we must be able to trace in it the spirit of one whom the Lord Himself termed "a son of thunder," of one who "lay upon the Lord's breast," of one to whom had been committed the charge of the Virgin Mother.<sup>1</sup>

If we now approach the Gospel from the writer's standpoint, *viz.* of one who would convince men of the Messiahship of Jesus of Nazareth and also of His Divinity, we can discern the method he has employed to bring about this end, and we can see why, out of the vast quantity of material at his disposal, xx. 30, xxi. 25, he has selected but few incidents and has developed those at such great length. For an analysis will show us that in order to produce the desired effect the Evangelist has really given us a drama<sup>2</sup> in

For these latter seem as it were to walk with Christ the Man upon earth, while John passes beyond the clouds which enshroud the entire earth, he reaches even to the empyrean whence with clear and steady gaze he can see God the Word Who in the beginning was God with God, by Whom God made all things. Thence, too, he knew Him as made Flesh, that He might 'dwell amongst us'; he knew that He received flesh, not that He was changed into flesh." *De Consensu*, I. iv., P.L. XXXIV. 1045; *cf.* also St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. xi. 1. Indeed this "mystical" character of St. John's Gospel is everywhere recognized by the Fathers, *e.g.* St. Ambrose, "mystica magis scripsit," *apropos* of xix. 25, *De Institutione Virginis*, vii. 46, P.L. XVI. 332; *cf.* *Ep.* lxiii. (109), *ibid.* 1270.

<sup>1</sup> *Cp.* St. Jerome, *Ep.* CXXVII. 5, P.L. XXII. 1091; also his *Prologue* to his *Comment. in Matth.*, P.L. XXVI. 18-19; *Adv. Jovin.* I. xxvi., P.L. XXIII. 247.

<sup>2</sup> The dramatic character of the *Fourth Gospel* falls into line with the same feature in the *Apocalypse*. Thus the seven Churches, the seven seals, trumpets, plagues, and vials of the *Apocalypse* find their counterpart in the seven "signs" which precede the Sacred Passion in the *Gospel*, *viz.* the "sign" of the wine and water, ii. 1-12; of the healing of the Ruler's son, iv. 46-54; of the cure of the paralytic—sickness and sin, v. 1-15; of the Bread of Life, vi. 1-15; of the walking on the sea, vi. 16-21; of the man born blind, ix. 1-41; of the death and resurrection of Lazarus, xi. 1-56. Note, too, throughout both books the constant postponement of the climax; also the manner in which the first vision in the *Apocalypse* and the dramatic *Verbum caro factum est* in the *Gospel* influence the whole of what follows

which is set forth the growth of faith or its opposite in the minds of the men among whom Christ lived and taught. Hence the marvellous delineations of a series of individual characters set one against the other as portraying the growth—in some cases swift, in others gradual—of faith or unfaith. Thus we have the picture of the Apostles with their gradual acceptance of the faith in all its fulness, and incidentally we see how the Evangelist himself apparently accepted it from the outset, i. 34; we have the cautious Nicodemus and the spontaneous woman of Samaria; we have “the people” and the Hierarchy, vii. 48-9. Hence, too, the apparently disconnected scenes, the transitions from Judæa to Galilee and back again. It is ever the Christ revealing Himself with growing fulness, and men—according to their dispositions—accepting Him or rejecting Him with greater or less spontaneity.

But while the details of the story are thus selected for a purpose, the natural order of events is followed; for this natural order was but the order of progress in faith or unfaith.

Hence the Christ of the *Fourth Gospel* is not simply the Messiah of the Old Testament as portrayed by St. Matthew; nor is He the Wonder-worker of St. Mark, nor again is He the Merciful Saviour of men depicted by St. Luke. But He is the LIGHT OF THE WORLD enlightening every man that cometh into this world and—according to their dispositions—attracting them or repelling them. The Self-revelation of Christ, with the accompanying acceptance or rejection of Him by the men amongst whom He walked, is the note of the *Fourth Gospel*, and John has sketched it for us in order to secure his object—*that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing you may have life in His Name.*<sup>1</sup>

With this key in our hands we can see how the Gospel falls naturally into two distinct parts: Christ's revelation of Himself to the world, and His revelation of Himself to His disciples.

Nor should it be forgotten in reading the *Fourth Gospel* that it is the work of the meditative theologian, of John

<sup>1</sup> John “sets forth the Divinity of Christ more clearly than do the rest,” Origen, *Prol. 6 in Comment. in Joan.*, P.G. XIV. 30

“the Theologian” or “Divine” as he has always been called.<sup>1</sup> For him the human in Christ has almost merged into the divine, and though he sets out with the declaration “the Word was made *Flesh*,” yet the figure he sets before us is that of the Son of God Who “walked with men.” Hence the sudden transitions from the divine to the human and conversely; hence, too, some of those seeming contradictions which he is not afraid to set side by side, *cf.* xiii. 36 and xvi. 5 “quo vadis?”; xvii. 11-12 and xvii. 13, “in the world” “not in the world”; vii. 8 and 14 “I go not up” and “he went up”; x. 30 “the Father and I are one” and xiv. 28 “the Father is greater than I.” The retrospective character of the whole Gospel is very marked: *e.g.* the references to the Feasts of the Jews as a thing of the past, at least for the writer, ii. 13, v. 1, vii. 2, etc.; the allusions to the Apostles and their contemporaries as though they had all passed away, i. 29-51, vi. 6, xi. 16, xiii. 6, xiv. 5, 8, 22, iii. 1-11, xviii. 10, xix. 38-39, xxi. 2, 19, 23, etc.; the same feature appears in all his reflections, ii. 24-25, xi. 2, xii. 37-43, xviii. 9, 13, 32, *cf.* also his remarks about the Apostles not understanding at the time, ii. 22, xii. 16, also the allusions to prophecies then unfulfilled, xiii. 19, xiv. 29. xvi. 4, 12-14.

The meditative character<sup>2</sup> of the Gospel appears particularly in the numerous “asides,” *e.g.* ii. 24-25, iv. 2, 8, v. 13, vi. 65, 72, vii. 39, viii. 6, xi. 51-52, xii. 16-18, 33, 37-43, xviii. 9, 32. It is worth while noting too how certain threads are dropped and then taken up again at unexpected points, *e.g.* the judgment, v. 30 and xii. 47; blindness, ix. 1-41 and x. 21; the sheep and the fold, x. 1-16 and x. 26-27; the healing of the paralytic, v. 1-16 and vii. 21. We have already referred to certain key-words, but some ever-recurrent expressions should be noted for the light they throw on the dual nature of Christ, “light” and “the light of the world,” i. 5, 7, 8, 9, iii. 19, viii. 12, ix. 5, xii. 35-36, 46; the references to His “hour,” ii. 4, iv. 21, 23, 35, v. 25, 28, vii. 6, 8, 30, viii. 20, ix. 4, xii. 23, 27, xiii. 1, xvi. 2, 32; the oft-repeated allusions to “Him that sent Me,” *e.g.* iv. 34, v. 24, 37, vi. 29, 38, vii. 16, ix. 4, etc.

<sup>1</sup> “Joannes Theologus,” *Paschal Chronicle*, P.G. XCII. 591, and 1078 “Joannes Theologus et consanguineus Christi.”

<sup>2</sup> See *Expositor*, September, 1915.

### E. The Contrast between the Fourth Gospel and the Three Synoptic Narratives is Striking.

We have hinted above at some of the reasons for this remarkable difference in tone. But there has been a tendency of late years to make capital out of the so-called discrepancies between the Gospel as penned by John at the close of the first century and the picture of Christ and His work left us by those who wrote shortly after His death. Thus a recent writer sums up the difference in tone between the earlier and later narratives somewhat in this fashion :

#### THE SYNOPTIST NARRATIVES.

1. Practically "points for preachers."

2. Depict Christ the Man.

3. He begins in Galilee and is apparently unconscious of His mission.

4. He preaches the near approach of "the Kingdom."

5. He draws crowds to whom He is always compassionate.

6. He is surrounded by sinners, Pharisees, Publicans, lepers, etc.

7. Miracles abound.

8. Regular and intimate intercourse with His disciples.

9. He criticises the Law and the Traditions.

10. His idea of "the Kingdom" is repudiated by the people.

11. Reiterated moral teaching by parables.

12. The question of His Divinity is avoided.

13. He at length reaches Jerusalem.

14. He is treated as a political agitator.

15. His glory only appears with His Resurrection.

16. The Crisis develops naturally.

#### THE FOURTH GOSPEL NARRATIVE.

A carefully planned mystical treatment of the Gospel story.

A transcendental Being who moves automatically to His goal and with a foreknowledge of "His Hour."

Alternately in Galilee and in Judæa.

Amazing and difficult teaching.

Is an isolated and unintelligible figure.

They are notably absent.

Miracles are few ; none are given without an ulterior object. Only at the Last Supper.

Practically never.

It is never mentioned.

No moral teaching and no parables.

It is reiterated on every possible occasion.

He goes there repeatedly.

He dominates Annas and Pilate.

His Cross is His throne.

His acts are chosen by Himself as fulfilments of prophecy.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Loisy, *Autour d'un Petit Livre*, pp. 90-92.

Now while allowing for a certain exaggeration in this picture it must be conceded that it does, in the main, present a fair idea of the entirely different atmosphere which pervades the *Fourth Gospel* as compared with the *Synoptic* narratives. The natural explanation is, of course, that while the Synoptists write—Matthew with an apologetic aim, Mark as a catechist, and Luke as an historian, John writes simply as a theologian. He writes with a different object, from a different standpoint, and after a long lapse of time. But modern critics seize on these points of difference and argue that John, writing, as he does, after a long interval and as a theologian, has allowed his meditative fancies to obscure the historical perspective of events seen dimly through the long vista of years. Consequently, so they maintain, he is not giving us history strictly so-called, and his "facts" are inevitably coloured by his own subjective prepossessions. Moreover he has an axe to grind: he wishes to bring home the Divinity of Christ to his readers, consequently he so presents facts as to show forth the Divinity. In plain language he distorts them and colours them. It is claimed that an examination of any of the discourses, or even of the episodes, recounted by John will show that they serve but as pegs whereon to hang dogmatic teachings with which alone the Evangelist is concerned. To take an example: it is urged that in the story of the Samaritan woman, ch. iv. (a) her failure to understand Him and her crude answers are a deliberate parallel to Nicodemus' action in ch. iii. (b) The conversation, as reported, was more calculated to throw dust in her eyes than to enlighten her. (c) All she understands is that He apparently claims to have at His command a supply of water better than that furnished by the well. (d) Thus the episode is merely ideal; it is a sketch of the Christian apostleship as it had displayed himself during St. John's long life. (e) Further, we are told to note that (i.) Many years have elapsed; (ii.) that the whole episode is replete with contradictions to the *Synoptic* narrative, e.g. the conversation with a Samaritan is opposed to Matt. x. 5, xv. 24, Luke ix. 52-53; the claim that God is His Father, iv. 21, 23, is contradictory of Matt. x. 32-33, xi. 25-27, xv. 13, xviii. 10, 19, xx. 23, etc. More especially is the claim to be

the Messias opposed to the *Synoptic* tradition, *cp.* iv. 26, with Matt. xii. 6, 42, xix. 28, Mark i. 25, 44, iii. 12, viii. 30, ix. 8, xi. 28-33. (iii.) Thus the conversation, as reported, is meant for the *readers* of the Gospel and, as reported, is unintelligible to the supposed auditory. (iv.) It is further urged that the remarkable series of antitheses furnished by this Gospel lends colour to this view; thus note (a) the water and the wine, ch. ii. (b) the temple of God and Christ's Sacred Humanity, ch. ii. (c) the natural and the supernatural birth, ch. iii. (d) the water of the well and that of eternal life, ch. iv. (e) the corporal food and the spiritual, chs. iv. and vi. (f) the material and spiritual harvest, ch. iv. It is an easy step after this to say that such details as iv. 35, where a precise date seems to be given, is a pure invention; also that the “grass” in vi. 10, and the date-mark in vi. 4 are similarly fictitious and merely inserted for “artistic” purposes.<sup>1</sup>

It requires no vivid imagination to see how disastrous such views as these must be. They deprive the *Fourth Gospel* not merely of all historical value but they even destroy the value of the dogmatic teaching it contains. Hence it is not surprising that the Decree *Lamentabili sane* of July 3, 1907, should have condemned the following propositions among others:

XIV. “In many of their narratives the Evangelists have not so much set forth the truth, as strung together statements which, even though false, would be more profitable to their readers.”

XV. “Up till the period when the Canon was finally settled and defined the Gospels underwent additions and corrections; consequently there only remains in them a very slight and uncertain trace of Christ's teaching.”

XVI. “John's narratives are not properly history; they are rather a mystical contemplation on the *Gospel*. The discourses in his *Gospel* are theological meditations on the mystery of salvation; they are devoid of historic truth.”

XVII. “The *Fourth Gospel* exaggerated the miracles; and this not merely to make them appear still more marvellous, but also to render them a more apt means for setting forth the work and the glory of the Incarnate Word.”

XVIII. “John indeed claims the character of a witness to Christ; but as a matter of fact he is nothing more than a most excellent witness

<sup>1</sup> Loisy, *Quatrième Evangile*, p. 351; *cp.* *Expositor*, December, 1911, *Expository Times*, December, 1910.



to the Christian life, or rather to the life of Christ in the Church at the close of the first century."<sup>1</sup>

Similarly in the Encyclical *Pascendi Gregis*, September 8, 1907, we find the following Modernist propositions condemned:

1. Faith is concerned with the scientifically unknowable.
2. Faith transfigures this unknowable by raising it above its true condition.
3. Faith disfigures this unknowable by attributing to it properties which it does not possess.

The three corollaries to these propositions are also condemned:

1. To history and science Christ is only a man; therefore history must, in treating of Him, eliminate the Divine element.
2. Similarly, history must subtract from the believer's picture of Christ all that raises Him above His historical conditions.
3. And further, the historian must discount in His acts and discourses all that is incompatible with His human character.<sup>2</sup>

The results of such principles are thus set forth in *Pascendi Gregis*:

"Whatever survives the triple excision already described, the historian assigns to *real* history; all the rest he relegates to the history of faith, or to *internal* history. . . . Hence there is a double Christ; one real, another who never had a real existence but belongs to faith; one who lived at a certain place and time, another who is found only in the pious meditations of faith; of this latter kind is the Christ presented to us in the Gospel of St. John; a work which, indeed, they describe as a mere meditation from beginning to end."<sup>3</sup>

The true spirit in which to approach the study of St. John's Gospel is that set before us by St. Augustine. He is never weary of comparing him to the eagle which soars aloft:

"I have told you, brethren, that John, the holy Evangelist, soars exceeding high, so high that the mind can hardly follow him."

He then dwells on the characteristics of the other Evangelists and concludes:

"There remains 'the eagle'—that is John himself—the preacher of things sublime, gazing with unswerving eye on the light that is within and is eternal. . . . See, then, what sublime things he should tell of

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<sup>1</sup> Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, 2014-2018, ed. 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *English Translation*, p. 9; Denzinger, *l.c.* 2076.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 35; Denzinger, 2097.

who is likened to the eagle! Yet we, poor crawlers on the earth, weak and of small repute amongst men, we dare to handle these things and even to expound them; we even fancy that we are able to understand them when we think about them or can be understood when we speak of them!”<sup>1</sup>

## F. The Historical Accuracy of St. John's Presentment of Christ's Discourses.

It is to be presumed that Christ spoke to His disciples in Aramaic; St. John's Greek narrative will then be a translation of what He said and, further, will be derived from the memory of one who stood at a distance of seventy odd years from the date of their actual happening. When, then, it is laid down, as above, that John has in no sense “manipulated” the history, are we meant to conclude that in these narratives we have Christ's actual words? There is no hint of this in any Ecclesiastical pronouncement touching the inspiration of the Gospels. Indeed the mere fact that John only gives a translation of what Christ said is sufficient to show the impossibility of maintaining that we have Christ's words as He actually spoke them. The fact that the all-important words of Consecration are given us in varying forms by the three *Synoptists* and by St. Paul, though they were only spoken once, serves as an indication of the necessary liberty on this point. Inspiration is not revelation, neither is it dictation. But unless it ensures the substantial accuracy of the account it fails of its purpose. Jer. xxxvi. 32 serves as an excellent commentary on this; But what is “substantial accuracy”? St. Augustine has developed this point very fully in his treatise *De Consensu Evangelistarum*: thus, after pointing out that Matt. iii. 11 makes the Baptist speak of himself as unworthy so much as to *carry* Christ's shoes whereas the other Evangelists report John as saying that he was unworthy to *loose* them,<sup>2</sup> St. Augustine draws a first conclusion:

“If, then, we are asked what precise words the Baptist used. . . . Whosoever grasps the fact that it is ideas in themselves which are necessary for arriving at a knowledge of the truth—no matter what

<sup>1</sup> *Tract. XXXVI. in Joan., cp. Tract. XL. 1, XLVIII. 6, etc*

<sup>2</sup> *De Consensu*, II. xii. (25-26), P.L. XXXIV. 1088-1090.

words be used to express them—will realize that it is idle to waste time over such a question.”<sup>1</sup>

He then dwells on the way in which the Evangelists tell us of the same events but in different words, and he concludes :

“Moreover, and this especially affects sound doctrine, we must realize that we have to look for and embrace the truth of *things* rather than of *words* when we note with approval that those who use not the same expressions yet stand in the same truth since they do not differ in *things* and *ideas*.”<sup>2</sup>

But Augustine is nothing if not thorough. Consequently he now proceeds to point out that these two expressions “to carry” and “to loose” “differ not merely in words or their order or mode of expression, but ‘to carry shoes’ and ‘to loose the latchet of a shoe’ are two distinct *things*.”<sup>3</sup> After suggesting that John might have used both expressions and that one Evangelist remembered one, another another, Augustine lays down the following broad principles :

“If, however, when John spoke of the Lord’s shoes he *intended* nought else save to set forth Christ’s excellence and his own lowliness, then whichever of these expressions he used, whether ‘loosing the latchet’ or ‘carrying the shoes,’ he held to the same *idea*, and whosoever expressed this same feeling of lowliness in the words wherein he refers to the shoes did the same, and consequently did not fail to express the same *intention*. We have, then, a useful rule and one we should commit to memory when treating of the harmony of the Evangelists : there can be no question of lying, since—even when one says something which he did not say of whom he narrates it—he yet expresses the speaker’s *intention* as much as he who does give his actual words. Thus we learn this profitable truth : that nought else is to be looked for save what he *meant* who speaks.”<sup>4</sup>

St. Augustine lays down precisely the same principles when discussing the apparently conflicting accounts of St. Peter’s denials.<sup>5</sup> Nor can we argue that St. Augustine is here speaking of the words used by the Baptist or by Apostles and that he would not apply the same principles to our Lord’s words. For when discussing Christ’s prediction that Peter would deny Him “before cock-crow” he insists on the various forms in which this prediction is given in the Gospels, and concludes :

<sup>1</sup> *De Consensu*, II. xii. (27), *P.L.* XXXIV. 1088-1090.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (28).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (29).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* (29), *cp.* III. ii. (5), *P.L.* XXXIV. 1160.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* III. i-ii. 1157-1162.

"If we look for the precise words which the Lord spoke to Peter, they cannot be found, and it is idle to seek them. For His *meaning*—which the words are meant to make known to us—can easily be gathered from the Evangelists' words howsoever different they may be."<sup>1</sup>

This, then, is the meaning of "substantial accuracy": the written record infallibly sets before us what our Lord *meant* to say. It will be of interest to give here some words penned by Cardinal Newman in a private letter dated July 15, 1878:

"Everyone writes in his own style. S. John gives our Lord's meaning in his own way. At that time the third person was not so commonly used in history as now. When a reporter gives one of Gladstone's speeches in a newspaper, if he uses the first person, I understand not only the matter, but the style, the words, to be Gladstone's; when the third, I consider the style, etc., to be the reporter's own. But in ancient times this distinction was not made. Thucydides uses the dramatic method, yet Spartan and Athenian speak in Thucydidean Greek. And so every clause of our Lord's speeches in S. John may be in S. John's Greek, yet every clause may contain the matter which our Lord spoke in Aramaic. Again, S. John might and did condense (as being inspired for that purpose) the matter of our Lord's discourses, as that with Nicodemus, and thereby the wording might be S. John's, though the matter might still be our Lord's."<sup>2</sup>

## G. The Authenticity of the Fourth Gospel.

That the *Fourth Gospel* was written by John the "beloved disciple" the son of Zebedee, is as certain as anything well can be. It would be no exaggeration to say that no anonymous writing has come down to us with stronger attestation as to its authorship.<sup>3</sup> Yet by the irony of fate the assertion of such a view is thought to indicate a lack of scholarship!

The arguments for the view that it was John the Disciple, he who "leant on the Lord's breast," who wrote this Gospel are derived from the Gospel itself or from sources extrinsic to it. (a) The *extrinsic* argument is that from tradition, and tradition—it may be said at once—is abso-

<sup>1</sup> *De Consensu*, III. ii. (8), 1162; *cp.* III. iv. (14), 1166.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Plummer, *St. John in the Cambridge Greek Testament*, p. 100, Cambridge, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> See Westcott in the *Speaker's Commentary*; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, I-II, 1893; Sanday, *The Authenticity of the Fourth Gospel*, etc.

lutely unanimous in assigning this Gospel to John the Evangelist. For this unanimity can hardly be said to be disturbed by the one dissentient voice, that of the obscure sect of the Alogi who in the second century had the audacity to declare that the *Fourth Gospel* was written by Cerinthus, while at the very same time St. Irenæus was expressly stating that it was written against him.<sup>1</sup> The English Deist, Evanson, 1792, was the first to deny the Johannine authorship. His views—on different grounds—were resuscitated by the Tübingen school. Since that date it has been the fashion to deny the Johannine authorship of the Gospel which, with the perversity of genius, see *infra*, has been attributed to the shadowy figure known as “John the Presbyter.” English scholars such as Westcott, Lightfoot, and Sanday, have more than atoned for the indiscretions of their fellow-countryman, Evanson.<sup>1</sup> The solidity and the coherence of the tradition will be evident from a study of the following facts :

I. At the close of the second century we have at least four great writers for whom the Johannine authorship of the *Fourth Gospel* is an uncontrovertible fact. Origen wrote a famous Commentary on this Gospel; Clement of Alexandria, besides preserving for us several traditions about St. John,<sup>2</sup> expressly speaks of “the *four* Gospels delivered to us,” in them he says that a certain passage quoted by Julius Cassianus the Docete is not given;<sup>3</sup> while Eusebius tells us that in his *Hypotyposes* Clement gave an account of the origin of the four Gospels, in this account he says: “And John, the last of them all (the Evangelists), when he noticed that in the Gospels compiled by the others were narrated the things pertaining to the body (*i.e.* Humanity) of Christ, being himself filled with the breath of the Divine

<sup>1</sup> The Alogi are described by St. Augustine “tanquam sine Verbo (λόγος enim Græce verbum dicitur), quia Deum Verbum recipere noluerunt, Joannis Evangelium respicientes, cujus nec Apocalypsim accipiunt, has videlicet Scripturas negantes esse ipsius,” *De Hær.* XXX., P.L. XLII. 31. Cp. Origen, *Tom. II. 3 in Joan.*, P.G. XIV. 111. On the identity of this “sect” (?) see Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, p. 53 note, also *R.B.* October, 1897, 516-534. For the folly of denying the authenticity of St. John's Gospel see St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI, P.G. XLI. 887.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, *Quis Dives*, xlii. ; *H.E.* III. xxiii. 5-19.

<sup>3</sup> *Strom.* III. xiii., P.G. VIII. 1194.

Spirit, wrote a spiritual Gospel at the request of his acquaintances."<sup>1</sup> St. Irenæus repeatedly speaks of the Gospel as by "John, the disciple of the Lord," by "John," or simply by "the disciple," or by "the Apostle."<sup>2</sup> He quotes it constantly, perhaps one hundred out of his five hundred quotations of the Gospels are taken from that of John; he also speaks of it as written by "John, the disciple of the Lord, who also lay upon His breast," adding that it was written at Ephesus.<sup>3</sup> Lastly, Tertullian quotes practically every chapter of this Gospel, and of some chapters nearly every verse; the idea that it was not by John the Apostle never enters into his mind.<sup>4</sup>

Now such consentient testimony as this on the part of the greatest writers of the period, a testimony, too, which hails from places so widely separated as Alexandria, Lyons and Carthage, can be based on no mere mushroom tradition. It means that at a period distant less than one hundred years from the Apostle's death, the unanimous tradition of East and West was that John the Evangelist wrote our *Fourth Gospel*. And this tradition did not concern some chance literary product; it had to do with one of the fundamental documents of the Faith, with one of the "four quarters of the globe" as Irenæus would call them.<sup>5</sup> Nor can it be argued that a hundred years or eighty years is a long period, and that at a time when communication was not the easy matter it is now spurious traditions might grow up and be accepted with an uncritical readiness which is hardly to be blamed. No one familiar with the way in which apocryphal works are spoken of by the Fathers would speak of the second century as an uncritical age. Neither can the lapse of a century between the death of St. John and the four writers just named be regarded as a long period. For, according to Irenæus<sup>6</sup> John died in the reign of Trajan, A.D. 98-117, and, according to the *Paschal*

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* VI. xiv. 7; cf. St. Jerome, *Prolog. to Comment. in Matth.*, also *Muratorian Frag.*; St. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto*, I. ii. (29), *P.L.* XVI. 740.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. *Adv. Hær.* I. ix. 2; II. xxii. 3, 5; III. i. 1, xi. 1, 9, xvi. 5; IV. xx. 11; V. xviii. 2; cf. Chapman, O.S.B., *John the Presbyter*, p. 42, Clarendon Press, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. i. 1; *P.G.* VII. 845.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, IV. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. xi. 8; *P.G.* VII. 885.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II. xx. 5.



*Chronicle*, in the seventh year of Trajan, viz. A.D. 104.<sup>1</sup> Now St. Polycarp, John's disciple, died in A.D. 155 or 156, and, as he himself stated at the time of his martyrdom, he had served the Lord eighty-six years, therefore he was born in 69 or 70.<sup>2</sup> Irenæus' words touching Polycarp are instructive as showing us how intimate was the connexion between John, Polycarp and Irenæus himself:

"Polycarp was not only taught by Apostles and lived familiarly with many who had seen the Lord, but was also appointed by the Apostles in Asia to be Bishop of the Church at Smyrna. We ourselves saw him in our early youth, for he survived a long time, and when exceeding old he accomplished a most glorious and noble triumph and so departed this life. He ever taught what he had learnt from the Apostles and what the Church hands down; indeed these are the only true things."<sup>3</sup>

How close was Irenæus' intimacy with Polycarp can be gauged from his *Letter to Florinus* who was also a disciple of Polycarp but who had shown an inclination for the Valentinian tenets:

"When I was a boy," he writes to Florinus, "I saw thee in Asia with Polycarp. . . . I am able to describe the very place in which the blessed Polycarp sat as he discoursed . . . and the accounts which he gave of his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, and concerning His miracles and His teaching, having received them from eye-witnesses of 'the Word of Life.' Polycarp related all things in harmony with the Scriptures. These things were told to me by the mercy of God, and I listened to them attentively, noting them down, not on paper but in my heart."<sup>4</sup>

Thus Irenæus was an attentive hearer of Polycarp who was over thirty years of age when John died and who survived him another fifty years. Nor is this all; for Irenæus succeeded in the See of Lyons the venerable Pothinus who died a martyr at the age of ninety and upwards, A.D. 177, in the persecution at Vienne.<sup>5</sup> Eusebius tells us that Pothinus, too, had been "a hearer of Polycarp in his youth."<sup>6</sup> Thus Pothinus would have been about twenty years of age when John died in A.D. 104.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, while a gap of one hundred years separates the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 53 note; also *Expository Times*, November, 1910, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Martyrium Polycarpi*, ix. ed. Hefele, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4; *P.G.* VII. 851-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* V. i. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* V. v. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *H.E.* V. xx. 4-7.

<sup>7</sup> See above.

death of Irenæus from that of John, this gap is bridged over in a singularly complete fashion since Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp who was a disciple of John, and Irenæus' immediate predecessor in the See of Lyons was another disciple of Polycarp and, like him, had lived to an advanced age. Moreover it will have been noticed that in the above extracts St. Irenæus mentions others who had “seen the Lord.” These are, apparently, the “Elders” to whom he refers so constantly in his writings.<sup>1</sup> Once, indeed, he refers to the collective testimony of “all the Elders who were assembled in Asia with John the Lord's disciple.”<sup>2</sup> The full force of the tradition touching the authorship of the *Fourth Gospel* will best be appreciated when the meaning of the “School of St. John” is grasped. As the following table will show, we find in Asia Minor a body of Apostles and their disciples who are at pains to transmit Apostolic doctrine to their hearers. St. Irenæus is a conspicuous example. He was the successor of Pothinus at Lyons, he was trained by Polycarp, he passed from the East to the West, he was in touch with all the great men of the sub-Apostolic age, he voices tradition in the person of the “Elders” to whom he constantly makes appeal.

The “Elders” are frequently mentioned by Irenæus: “One superior to me,” ὁ κρείσσων; *Adv. Hær.* I. Pref. 2, I. xiii. 3, III. xvii. 4; “A Presbyter, a disciple of the Apostles”; or some similar phrase, IV. xxvii. 1, xxxi. 1, xxxii. 1, V. v. 1, xxxvi. 1-2; “a certain person among the Presbyters,” III. xxiii. 3; “one before me,” IV. xli. 2; “those who saw John face to face,” V. xx. 1, *cp.* xxxiii. 3; “a certain predecessor,” V. xvii. 4. Various attempts have been made to identify these “Elders” but beyond saying that now Polycarp, now Papias, may be meant it is futile to dogmatize.<sup>3</sup> The important point to note, however, is what

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* I. Prol. 2, P.G. VII. 439; I. xv. 6, 627; II. xxii. 5, 785; III. xvii. 4, 931; IV. xxxi. 1, 1068; xxvii. 1; xxxii. 1; xli. 2; V. v. 1. *Cp.* Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 59-62; Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, 15-16; Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, p. 191, Clarendon Press, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> II. xxii. 5, P.G. VII. 785.

<sup>3</sup> See Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 1893, pp. 51-80; *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, 1892, pp. 137-246; Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, 1911, pp. 13-16; Westcott, *St. John*, xxx-xxxi., etc.

## THE SCHOOL OF ST. JOHN IN ASIA MINOR.

## A.

St. John.	St. Andrew. <sup>1</sup>	St. Philip the Evangelist <sup>2</sup> (Hierapolis).	Aristion and Others. <sup>3</sup>
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## B.

Polycarp, <sup>4</sup> c. 69-155 (Smyrna).	Ignatius, <sup>5</sup> d. 107 (? 116) (Antioch of Syria).	Pothinus, <sup>6</sup> d. 177 (Lyons).	Papias, <sup>7</sup> c. 130-140 (Hiera- polis).	Melito, <sup>8</sup> c. 165- 175 (Sardis).	Poly- crates, <sup>9</sup> c. 190 (Ephe- sus).
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## C.

Florinus. <sup>10</sup>	Irenæus, <sup>11</sup> d. 202 (Lyons).	Claudius Apollinaris, <sup>12</sup> c. 171-185 (Hierapolis).	The "Elders."
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<sup>1</sup> The *Muratorian Fragment*, line 14, "Eadem nocte revelatum Andreæ ex Apostolis ut recognoscentibus cunctis Johannes su nomine cuncta describeret."

<sup>2</sup> *H.E.* III. xxx-xxxi., xxxix. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *H.E.* III. xxxix. 4 and 14.

<sup>4</sup> Visited Rome twice (?), *H.E.* IV. xiv. 1 and 5. Appointed by the Apostles as Bishop of Smyrna, *H.E.* IV. xiv. 3. For his letter to Florinus describing Polycarp's doctrine and his intimacy "with John and those who had seen the Lord" see *H.E.* V. xx. 5-7, *cp. Adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4. His *Epistle to the Philippians*, vii. and viii., has more than a mere reminiscence of 1 John iv. 2-6.

<sup>5</sup> Eusebius, *Chron.* II. A.D. 99-101; John's "notable hearers were Papias the Bishop of Hierapolis, Polycarp of Smyrna and Ignatius of Antioch," *P.G.* XIX. 551.

<sup>6</sup> Over ninety years of age when he died a martyr at Lyons, *H.E.* V. i. 29-31.

<sup>7</sup> "Papias, an ancient man, a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp," *Adv. Hær.* V. xxxiii. 4, quoted in *H.E.* III. xxxix. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *H.E.* IV. xxvi., V. xxiv. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Bishop of Ephesus, *H.E.* III. xxxi. 2, V. xxii. For his letter to Pope Victor see *H.E.* V. xxiv.

<sup>10</sup> *H.E.* IX. xx.

<sup>11</sup> He succeeded Pothinus at Lyons, *H.E.* V. v. 8. His Treatise *Adversus Hæreses* was written between A.D. 175 and 190.

<sup>12</sup> *H.E.* IV. xxvi. and xxvii.

we may term the “collective” witness of Irenæus. He does not stand alone, he represents a stream of tradition flowing from John throughout the Churches of Asia and to Antioch in the East and Lyons in the West. When, then, Irenæus tells us that (a) the *Fourth Gospel* was written by John the disciple,<sup>1</sup> (b) that it was written at Ephesus,<sup>2</sup> (c) against the Nicolaitans and Cerinthus,<sup>3</sup> (d) that there must of necessity be four and only four Gospels,<sup>4</sup> and when finally he himself quotes the *Fourth Gospel* some seventy to eighty times it is evident that none but overwhelming arguments can avail against such declarations, they are the collective voice of precisely that portion of the Church which was in a position to know the facts about St. John.

All this serves to show us (a) the careful way in which traditions were preserved; (b) the closeness of the link between Irenæus at the close of the second century and the death of St. John at the close of the first; (c) the intimate connexion between Irenæus’ testimony in Gaul and that of the whole body of John’s disciples in Asia and Ephesus in particular. And this testimony of Irenæus and the Asiatic Church is fully corroborated by that of the other second-century writers whose writings have come down to us. Thus, working backwards we have—

(a) *Theophilus*, Bishop of Antioch, c. A.D. 180, writing of the Divine Generation of the Word: “Whence the Holy Scriptures teach us — as indeed do all those who are Divinely inspired, among whom John says: *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God*, etc.”<sup>5</sup> Here the *Fourth Gospel* is quoted as “John” and is held as decisive of a deep theological question.

(b) *St. Justin Martyr*, c. A.D. 150, in his *First Apologia* and in his *Dialogue with Trypho* makes free use of the *Synoptic Gospels*. It is true that his use of St. John’s Gospel is not so clear. It is to be noted, however, that he nowhere gives

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hæv.* III. xi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* III. i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III. xi. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* III. xi. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad Autolycum*, II. 22, *P.G.* VI. 1087. For Theophilus cf. St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* XXV., *P.L.* XXIII. 643, also *Prol.* to his *Comment. in Matth.*, also *Ep.* CXXI. vi. *ad Algasiam*, where Jerome gives us the interesting information that Theophilus “welded into one work the sayings of the four Evangelists and left us in this a remarkable memorial of his great gifts,” *P.L.* XXII. 1020.

the names of the authors of the "Memoirs" as he calls the Gospels, for their names would have conveyed nothing to those for whom he wrote. His aim throughout is to set forth Christ's moral teaching and the claims of Christianity. The esoteric teaching of the *Fourth Gospel* did not serve his purpose. These "memoirs" he frequently mentions, they are called "Gospels," they are read on Sundays, they were compiled by the Apostles, though not in all cases.<sup>1</sup> But while Justin's use of the *Fourth Gospel* is not so clear as his use of the Synoptics the doctrine of the Logos or "Word" as given by Justin is absolutely Johannine in tone.<sup>2</sup> Still it must be remembered that a knowledge of this doctrine will not prove a knowledge of the written source from which we now derive it, *i.e.* of St. John's Gospel. At the same time there are at least two passages in Justin which seem to demand an acquaintance with our written *Fourth Gospel*. (i.) He twice quotes the words of Zacharias, xii. 10, *They shall look upon me whom they have pierced*,<sup>3</sup> and in each case he quotes it in the precise form given to it by St. John xix. 37, *viz.* with ἐξεκέντησαν instead of κατωχρίσαντο the form preserved in the Septuagint.<sup>4</sup> The same form ἐξεκέντησαν is retained by St. John in Apoc. i. 7. (ii.) The second passage occurs in Justin's treatise on regeneration<sup>5</sup> where, apropos of Baptism, he quotes John iii. 3-5 at least in part. The fact that Justin does not name the author as John is only in keeping with the general character of his Apologetic writings.

(c) The *Muratorian Fragment* dates probably from the middle of the second century;<sup>6</sup> its testimony to the Johannine authorship of the *Fourth Gospel* is explicit:

Quarti Evangeliorum Johannis ex decipolis (discipulis)  
Cohortantibus condiscipulis et ep̄s suis  
dixit: conjejunate mihi odie (hodie) triduo (triduum), et  
quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum

<sup>1</sup> *Cp. I. Apol.* 33, 61, 66, 67; *Dial.* 88, 101-107, 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Cp. I. Apol.* 5, 21, 23, 46, 63; *Dial.* 100.

<sup>3</sup> *I. Apol.* 52, *P.G.* VI. 406, and *Dial.* 14, *ib.* 506.

<sup>4</sup> Swete gives one MS. of *Zacharias* which has the same form as in Justin and in St. John, *Cambridge Septuagint*.

<sup>5</sup> *I. Apol.* 61, *P.G.* VI. 419.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 81.

nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum andreae ex apostolis, ut recogniscentibus (recognoscentibus) cunctis (cunctis) Johannis (Joannes) suo nomine cuncta (cuncta) describeret (describeret) et ideo licet (licet) varia singulis (singulis) evangeliorum libris principia doceantur, Nihil tamen differt creditum fidei, cum uno ac principali spu declarata sint in omnibus omnia, de nativitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conversatione cum decipolis (discipulis) suis, ac de gemino ejus advento (adventu).

(d) *St. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philipppians* fully bears out Irenæus' testimony; thus Phil. vii. contains a direct quotation from 1 John iv. 2-4, while we have reminiscences of John xiv. 6, xv. 16 in chs. i and xii. It is true that nowhere does Polycarp mention St. John as the author of the *Gospel* or the *Epistle*, but neither does he mention St. Peter as the author of 1 *Peter* which he so often quotes.

(e) *Tatian's Diatessaron* (q.v.) is proof of the existence of the *Fourth Gospel* which indeed Tatian quotes twice over in his *Oratio adv. Græcos*,<sup>1</sup> though in neither case does he name the author, but his apologetic aim made this unnecessary as well as undesirable.

(f) *St. Ignatius of Antioch* has many reminiscences of Johannine language in his *Epistles*, but in *Philadel.* vii. we have an unquestionable quotation of John iii. 8, though of course the author is not named.

(g) *Papias*, Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, is a witness of the greatest importance; Eusebius has preserved for us the following invaluable passage which introduces us to the vexed question of “John the Presbyter”:

“I shall not hesitate to put down for you along with my interpretations whatsoever things I have carefully learnt from the Elders and have carefully committed to memory, being positive of their truth. For I did not—as do many—take pleasure in those who say a great deal, but in those who teach the truth; nor again in those who tell of strange precepts, but rather in those who tell of precepts given by the Lord in the faith and springing from the truth itself.

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<sup>1</sup> *Oratio*, xiii. John i. 5; *Oratio* xix. John i. 3; *P.G.* VI. 834, 850.



"Further, if at any time there came any one who had been a follower of the Elders I would inquire about these Elders' sayings, viz. what Andrew or Peter had been wont to say, or what Philip, or Thomas, or James, or what John or Matthew or any other of the Lord's disciples; what, too, Aristion and John the Elder were saying. For I did not think that what came from books would profit me so much as what came from the living and abiding voice."<sup>1</sup>

Thus Papias tells us that he himself had learnt many things from the Elders directly, also that whenever he met anyone who had been in communication with such Elders he took care to enquire what such men had gleaned from the Elders in the way of "sayings" of the various Apostles—and also: what Aristion and John the Elder were *actually saying now*. Papias thus carefully distinguishes between (a) the testimony he himself has derived directly from Elders, (b) that which he has derived indirectly from Elders regarding what Disciples already dead had said, and (c) the testimony—also indirectly obtained—regarding what living disciples, Aristion and the John the Elder, are actually saying.

In justification of the above interpretation of this much-disputed passage the following points should be noted:

1. St. Irenæus speaks of Papias as "an ancient man who was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp."<sup>2</sup> These words are quoted by Eusebius,<sup>3</sup> but Eusebius immediately proceeds to point out that Irenæus was mistaken, for he says: "Papias himself in the *Preface* to his *Discourses* by no means declares that he was himself a hearer and an eye-witness of the holy Apostles, but he shows by the words he uses that he received the doctrines of the faith from those who were their friends." In support of this statement Eusebius quotes the passage given above. But an analysis of Papias' words as given by Eusebius will show that Papias has in mind three distinct categories: the Elders, the Followers of the Elders, and the Disciples of the Lord. By the Disciples are clearly meant Apostles, as is evident from the names given; not indeed that all Disciples were Apostles; Aristion, for example, in the same list, was not an Apostle. That the Elders are not Apostles will be admitted when it is noted that Irenæus, who so constantly refers to the Elders, never includes the Apostles in that category. Thus to quote only two passages: "As I have heard from a certain Elder who had heard it from those who had seen the Apostles and from those who had been their disciples";<sup>4</sup> and again: "As the Gospel

<sup>1</sup> H.E. III. xxxix. 3-4, P.G. VII. 295.

<sup>2</sup> Adv. Hær. V. xxxiii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> H.E. III. xxxix. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Adv. Hær. IV. xxvii. 1.

and all the Elders testify, those who were conversant with John in Asia, with John the disciple of the Lord, that John conveyed to them that information. And he remained among them till the times of Trajan. Some of them, moreover, saw not only John, but the other Apostles."<sup>1</sup> Further, the change of tense, *had been wont to say* to *were saying*, indicates a clear distinction between dead and living Disciples, and it is this distinction of tense<sup>2</sup> with its consequences which Eusebius seems not to have noticed.

2. The consequences of this misunderstanding on Eusebius' part have been far-reaching. For, as Eusebius immediately proceeds to point out, Papias mentions two Johns, one amongst the Apostles—clearly the Evangelist—and the other after an interval and in company with Aristion and called an Elder. Now Eusebius had in mind the views of Dionysius of Alexandria, whom he quotes in full,<sup>3</sup> and who had suggested that the *Apocalypse* was not by the author of the *Fourth Gospel* and the three *Epistles*, but was composed by some other person called John; in support of this theory Dionysius had referred to a tradition that there were at Ephesus two tombs bearing the name of John. Eusebius evidently thought that in the twofold mention of John in the passage quoted from Papias he had found the solution of the difficulty and that the "other John"—only guessed at by Dionysius—was actually referred to by Papias as "John the Elder" or "Presbyter."

3. This "John the Presbyter" has for years served as a kind of stalking-horse for all who would impugn the Johannine authorship whether of the *Fourth Gospel* and the *Three Epistles* or of the *Apocalypse*. Yet if the foregoing analysis of the passage of Papias is correct, then "John the Presbyter" is no more than a spectre raised by a guess on the part of Dionysius of Alexandria and by a piece of indifferent exegesis of Papias' words by Eusebius. Thus we note that (a) no other John save the Evangelist was ever thought of as living at Ephesus, till the time of Dionysius. (b) The theory of two tombs at Ephesus is only known to Dionysius, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and the two latter simply derived it from Dionysius. (c) The *Second* and *Third Epistles of John* commence with the words: "*The Ancient* (or Elder) to . . .," if, then, there really was a John the Presbyter distinct from the Evangelist he must surely have been the author of these two Epistles. Yet it is hard to dissociate them from the *First Epistle* which is certainly the work of the Evangelist. Moreover, it is almost inconceivable that two Epistles of such exceeding brevity should have found their way to universal and early acceptance unless the proofs of their Apostolic origin were irrefragable.

4. Further, the position assigned by Papias to this Presbyter should have shown Eusebius that he could not have been merely a

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hær.* II. xxii. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapman, *John the Presbyter*, for this analysis, pp. 1-41. Note that the Latin rendering of Papias' *εἶπεν* is *dicere soliti essent*, this well brings out the force of the tenses.

<sup>3</sup> *H.E.* VII. xxv

disciple of the Apostles, for Eusebius himself quotes Papias in the same place as giving the said Presbyter's judicial view of Mark's Gospel. It is impossible to conceive of any one not in the position of an Apostle thus deciding upon the merits and demerits of one of the Gospels, and this decision accords remarkably with the testimony given both by Clement of Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> and in the *Muratorian Canon*, as to the origin of the *Fourth Gospel*.

5. Once more, we know from Irenæus<sup>2</sup> that Papias actually was "a hearer of John"; and when we combine with this the practically universal statement of antiquity that John wrote the *Apocalypse* in extreme old age,<sup>3</sup> and the *Gospel* even after the *Apocalypse*, we can well understand his being called "the Elder" *par excellence*.

Elsewhere Eusebius shows us what was the early tradition of the Church :

" John's Gospel, known to all the Churches under heaven, must be acknowledged as genuine. . . . Of all the disciples of the Lord only Matthew and John have left us written memorials, and they, according to tradition, only wrote from necessity. For Matthew, who had at first preached to the Hebrews, when he was about to go to other peoples committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue and thus compensated for the loss of his presence those whom he was obliged to leave. And they say that when Mark and Luke had already published their Gospels, John who had employed all his time in publishing the Gospel orally, finally proceeded to write, and this for the following reasons: The three Gospels, having come into the hands of all, and into his own (John's), they say that he accepted them and bore witness to their truthfulness, but that there was lacking in them an account of the deeds done by Christ at the outset of His ministry. And this is indeed true. For it is evident that the three Evangelists recorded only the deeds done by the Saviour for one year after the imprisonment of John the Baptist. . . . They say, therefore, that the Apostle John, being asked to do it for this reason, gave in his Gospel an account of the period which had been omitted by the earlier Evangelists, and of the deeds performed by the Saviour during that period, that is, of those which were done before the imprisonment of the Baptist. . . . One who understands this can no longer think that the Gospels are at variance with one another, since the *Gospel according to John* contains the first acts of Christ, while the others give an account of the latter part of His life."<sup>4</sup>

We can trace the influence of Eusebius' words in St. Jerome's account of John the Evangelist :

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* VI. xiv. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Hær.* V. xxxiii. 3. *Cp. H.E.* III. xxxix. 1.

<sup>3</sup> But see *s.v. Apocalypse*, Vol. III.

<sup>4</sup> *H.E.* III. xxiv.

“The Apostle John, whom Jesus loved exceedingly, was the son of Zebedee and the brother of the Apostle James whom Herod put to death after the Lord’s Passion. He wrote his *Gospel* last of all and, at the request of the Bishops of Asia, as an antidote to Cerinthus and other heretics, and particularly against the then current teaching of the Ebionites who asserted that Christ did not exist previous to Mary. Consequently John was compelled to declare His divine birth. Other reasons, too, are given for his writing: namely that having read the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke he approved of the history as they had set it forth and declared that they had told the truth. But John perceived that they had only told the history of one year, that namely in which Christ suffered after John’s imprisonment. Omitting, then, the year the events of which had been chronicled by the three previous Evangelists, John told the story of the time which preceded the Baptist’s imprisonment, and this will be patent to anyone who reads the four Gospels carefully. This fact serves to explain the apparent want of agreement between John and the other three.

“John also wrote one *Epistle* the opening words of which are: *That Which was from the beginning, Which we have heard, Which we have seen with our eyes, Which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of Life*; this *Epistle* is approved by all Ecclesiastics and learned men. The other two *Epistles* beginning respectively: *The Ancient to the Lady Elect and her children*, and *The Ancient to the dearly beloved Gaius whom I love in truth*, are attributed to John the Presbyter whose tomb is shown at Ephesus even at this day though some think that these are really both tombs of John the Evangelist; but we will discuss this question when we come to Papias, John’s disciple. When, in his fourteenth year, Domitian inaugurated the second persecution after that of Nero, John was banished to the island of Patmos and there he wrote the *Apocalypse*—as Justin Martyr and Irenæus interpret it. Domitian however was murdered and his acts were rescinded by the Senate on account of their excessive cruelty; so John returned to Ephesus in Nerva’s reign and, remaining there till the reign of Trajan, he consolidated and governed all the churches of Asia until at length, worn out with old age, he died sixty-eight years after the Lord’s Passion and was buried in the neighbourhood of the same city of Ephesus.”<sup>1</sup>

## G. The Intrinsic Evidence for the Johannine Authorship of the Fourth Gospel.

The author nowhere names himself, *cp.* Apoc. i. 4, 9, xxii. 8; but he is “the disciple whom Jesus loved,” xiii. 23, xix. 26-27, xx. 2, xxi. 7, 20; he refers to himself as “another disciple,” xviii. 15-16, xx. 3, 4, 8, *cp.* i. 35-40,

<sup>1</sup> *Viv. Illustr.* IX. P.L. XXIII. 623.

xxi. 2; he apparently testifies that he himself was a witness to the final scene on Calvary, xix. 35, and either he or the Ephesian Elders testify that the author of this record was one with the "beloved disciple," xxi. 24. The question is whether it is possible to prove the identity of John the son of Zebedee with this writer who seems so determined to hide his identity. We made the reservation above "or the Ephesian Church" because of the statement in xxi. 24 "and *we* know that his testimony is true;" the plural *we* has been taken to imply that it was not the individual writer who penned these last words but the whole Church of Ephesus. A comparison, however, with the *First Epistle* shows how John habitually wrote "*we* know," i. 1-5, v. 15, 18, 19, 20; note, too, how he writes "*we* write" in 1 John i. 4, but "*I* write" in ii. 1, 12-14, 21, 26, v. 12.<sup>1</sup> If, then, it is really the author of the Gospel who identifies himself with "the beloved disciple" we have his own statement that he was one of the Apostles; if, however, it is felt that the last two verses of his Gospel form an appendix due to the Ephesian Elders, then we still have the earliest possible tradition touching the identity of the author with the "beloved disciple."

From the Gospel itself it is possible to prove that (a) the author was a Jew, (b) a Jew of Palestine, (c) an eyewitness of what he narrates, (d) one of the Apostles, (e) the Apostle John himself. That he was a *Jew* is clear from his intimate acquaintance with Hebrew history and customs. Thus note, for example, his references to the Messiah i. 19-25, iv. 25, vi. 14; to the relations between Jews and Samaritans, iv. 9, viii. 48; to the status of women, iv. 27; to the Jewish schools, vii. 15; to the Dispersion, vii. 35; to Abraham and the Prophets, viii. 52; to baptism and purification, i. 25, ii. 6, iii. 22, 25, xi. 55; to circumcision, vii. 22; to the Sabbath, vii. 22; to various Feasts, v. 1, vi. 4, vii. 2, x. 22; to the law of evidence, viii. 17-18. His diction, too, is coloured by the Hebrew—not the Greek—Old Testament, e.g. *Hosanna*, xii. 13, a quotation from Ps. cxvii. 25 the LXX version of which has "save now" as a rendering of *Hosanna*, *cp.* Luke xix. 38; note, too, *Alleluia* in

<sup>1</sup> Note how St. Augustine, *De Consensu*, II. xii. (25), *P.L.* XXXIV. 1089, speaks of the writer of John xxi. 24, as "ipse Joannes."



Apoc. xix. 1, 6. Again, his theological outlook is that of O.T., salvation is of the Jews, iv. 22, Moses wrote of Christ, v. 46, the serpent, the manna, the Paschal lamb, the pillar of fire, are, for him, all types. Note again how constantly he insists that the details of Christ's life were necessary and not merely accidental fulfilments of O.T. prophecy. Further, the style is that of the Hebrew O.T., thus note the parallelism which is so marked a feature of the allegories, *e.g.* x. 1-6, the simplicity of construction in the opening clauses of the *Prologue*, the Hebrew use of “and” where Greek would naturally employ another conjunction, *e.g.* v. 39-40, vii. 19, 30, 33, etc. That he was a *native of Palestine* seems to follow from his intimate acquaintance with the geography of Palestine in general and with the topography of Jerusalem. His references to Cana, ii. 1, xxi. 2, to Capharnaum, ii. 12, to Sychar, iv. 5, are precise; he knows the Sea of Galilee well, vi. 19, the banks of Jordan, i. 28, x. 40, Bethsaida of Galilee, xii. 21; he is at home in Jerusalem, he knows of the pool at the Probatica, v. 2, the precise distance between Bethany and Jerusalem, xi. 18, the brook Cedron, xviii. 1, Gabbatha, xix. 13, Golgotha, xix. 17, and Siloam, ix. 7. He even seems to refer to some of these places with an archæological interest, v. 2 and xi. 18, and it is worth recalling that after the destruction in A.D. 70 few if any of them would have been recognizable. That he was an *eyewitness* of much that he records is evident from the vivid pen-pictures he has left us of many scenes, *e.g.* the cleansing of the temple, the feeding of the five thousand, and the details of the last days. Note, too, his precision in details of time, *e.g.* i. 29, 35, 43, ii. 1, iii. 24, iv. 6, 40, 43, 46, 52, v. 5, vi. 4, 22, vii. 2, xi. 6; similarly in numbers, i. 35, iv. 18, xix. 23. That he was *one of the Apostles* will follow from his familiarity with the feelings prevalent among the Apostolic body; he dwells on their belief, ii. 11, on their reminiscences, ii. 17, 22, on their wonderment, iv. 27; he knows of the questions they put and the remarks they made, *e.g.* iv. 31, 33, ix. 2, xi. 16, xiv. 5, 8, 22, xxi. 3; similarly he betrays a close knowledge of Christ's acts, habits, and mind, *cf.* ii. 24-25, iv. 1-3, vi. 72, vii. 10, xviii. 2, xxi. 25. That this *Jew of Palestine* who was an *Apostle* and an *eyewitness* of so much was also *John the son*



of Zebedee may not be capable of rigid demonstration but nearly approaches it. For (a) who but John the son of Zebedee can be identified with "the beloved disciple?" It is impossible to believe that the bearer of this proud title did not form one of the select few who were chosen as witnesses of the raising of the daughter of Jairus, of the Transfiguration, of the declaration on the *Last Things*, and of the Agony in the garden. That Andrew was not this "beloved disciple" is clear from i. 40; that it was not Peter is necessitated by xxi. 20. It must then have been one of the sons of Zebedee; but the death of James, Acts xii., is incompatible with the statements in John xxi. 20-23. (b) He was Peter's friend, xiii. 24, xviii. 15-16, xx. 2-10, xxi. 20, but Acts iii.-iv., viii. 14 show us who Peter's friend was. (c) The author's silence about John the son of Zebedee is unintelligible save on the supposition that he himself was John the son of Zebedee. Nor is he silent about himself only, neither his brother James nor their parents are mentioned, it is surely no mere accident that in xix. 25 "the mother of the sons of Zebedee" Matt. xxvii. 56, "Salome" in Mark xv. 40, is omitted. Thus the entire family is passed over in silence. Yet it is not the silence of anonymity, else the writer would not betray himself at every turn as he does when he is talking of the Baptist. For he always speaks of him simply as "John." Why not as "John the Baptist?" He is fond of adding explanatory titles: Simon is always "Simon Peter," Thomas is three times spoken of as Didymus, Judas as the Iscariot or also as "the son of Simon." The reason can only be that since everybody knew that the author was the other John there was no need to distinguish the son of Zachary and Elizabeth as "the Baptist."

*The Date of the Fourth Gospel.*—The evidence of the Gospel itself points to John the son of Zebedee as the author, and tradition, or evidence extrinsic to the Gospel, is unanimous on this point. But tradition is also practically unanimous in saying that it was written towards the close of the first century, see the quotations given above. And this is fully borne out by the Gospel itself. That it was written much later than the *Synoptic Gospels* is evident from the tacit fashion in which it supplements their narrative

and even corrects impressions which might be derived from it. But that it was written in the second century is shown to be impossible by a multitude of small details which cumulatively and in conjunction with tradition are overwhelming. A second-century author would have infinite difficulties to contend with; he would have to present himself as an intimate of Christ and the Apostolic band, indeed as one of their number. Moreover, with his second-century ideas he would have had to present the auditory as replete with the religious conceptions of the first century and of its early portion. Now the marvellous thing about St. John's narrative is that, whereas he opens with the doctrine of the Word of God and insists at every turn upon the Divinity of Christ, he yet shows us the populace steeped in the religious ideas proper to A.D. 30. Thus for Christians “the Christ” and “the Prophet” would be one and the same, *cp.* Acts iii. 22, vii. 37, with John vi. 14; but the Jews of the *Fourth Gospel* neither grasp the doctrine of the Word of God nor do they identify the Christ with “the Prophet,” i. 21, 25, vii. 40. Further, St. Ignatius' *Epistles* show us how lively was the contest in Asia at the opening of the second century touching the Episcopate, yet there is no trace of this in the *Ephesian Gospel*. Again, the Sadducees are nowhere mentioned in the *Fourth Gospel*. Would a second-century writer who was anxious to present himself as writing from the first-century standpoint have dared to omit all mention of them? The author of the *Fourth Gospel* does so because he knows that at that time the Sadducees were identified with the High Priestly party.<sup>1</sup> Once more, we have specimens of second-century *Apocryphal Gospels*; but what a gulf divides them from the *Fourth Gospel*! Lastly it is to be noted that the text of the *Fourth Gospel* was early corrupted. For Tertullian, writing about A.D. 210, not only reads “Qui natus est” instead of “qui nati sunt” in John i. 13, but maintains that the latter reading—which is in our present Greek and Latin texts—is simply due to a corruption of the text by the Valentinians.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Acts. iv. 1, v. 17; Josephus, *Ant.* XX. ix. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *De Carne Christi*, XV. and XIX.

## H. The Authenticity of some Disputed Passages.

(a) v. 3 “expecting . . .” 4 *end.* Of this passage it may be said briefly that very ancient MSS. omit either the whole of ver. 4 or the concluding words of ver. 3 as well as ver. 4. Those Uncial MSS. which give the passage show a suspicious number of variants. The same must be said of the cursive MSS. in general, they either omit altogether or betray an abundance of variant readings. The MSS. of the Coptic and Syriac versions are, on the whole, against the passage. Several Old Latin MSS. omit, and the Vulgate MSS. present the same features as do the majority of the MSS. referred to above: *viz.* remarkable variations.<sup>1</sup> The Patristic evidence is of an unusual type; Didymus, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom, Theophylact and Euthymius, all have the passage; of the Latins St. Ambrose has it twice,<sup>2</sup> so too Ven. Bede; St. Augustine clearly had no knowledge of it.<sup>3</sup> The earliest witness to it is Tertullian,<sup>4</sup> and this shows the antiquity of the passage. Certainly ver. 7 demands some explanation such as is given in ver. 4. Is it conceivable that the passage was so manifest a parenthesis that copyists excised it as therefore suspicious?

(b) vii. 53-viii. 11. *The Story of the Woman taken in Adultery.* St. Jerome says of this much disputed passage that he found it “in many MSS. both Greek and Latin,”<sup>5</sup> and he certainly retained it in his *Vulgate Gospels*, though many Old Latin MSS. omit it. Neither does it seem probable that he would have made use of it against the Pelagians had there been any real doubt as to its genuine character. St. Augustine quotes portions of it and then suggests that the reason why many removed this passage from their copies was a fear lest it should lead people to sin with impunity.<sup>6</sup> As

<sup>1</sup> See the evidence in Wordsworth and White *Novum Testamentum Latine*, 1898; these editors retain ver. 3, “expectantium aquæ motum,” but omit ver. 4 from the Vulgate.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g. De Sacramentis*, II. 2, *P.L.* XVI. 443: “Quid lectum est heri? Angelus, inquit, secundum tempus descendebat in piscinam,” etc.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, *Tract. xvii.* 3, *P.L.* XXXV. 1528, he sees the need for some explanation: “a quo turbabatur non videbatur. *Credas hoc angelica virtute fieri solere*”; and again, *Sermo CXXV.* 3, *P.L.* XXXVIII. 690, “Homines aquam videbant: sed ex motu aquæ turbatæ intelligebant præsentiam angeli;” also *Enar. in Ps. LXXXIII.* 10, “benedictione Dei turbabatur aqua, tanquam angelo descendente.”

<sup>4</sup> *De Baptismo*, v. “piscinam Bethsaidam angelus interveniens commovebat.”

<sup>5</sup> *Adv. Pelagianos*, II. 17, *P.L.* XXIII. 553.

<sup>6</sup> *De Conjugiis Adulterinis*, II. 6-7, *P.L.* XL. 474; see also St. Ambrose, *Ep.* xxv., *P.L.* XVI. 1039-42, where he comments on the whole episode; Westcott and Hort, II. 82, do scant justice to this fact, while Hammond, *Textual Criticism*, 5th ed. 1890, p. 107, simply says “Ambrose alludes to it.”

a matter of fact it does not appear in any MS. known to us at present which dates earlier than the sixth century and there is considerable confusion in those MSS. which do give it. At the same time the antiquity of the story is guaranteed both by St. Jerome and St. Augustine as also by Eusebius who tells us that Papias had it and that it occurs in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.<sup>1</sup>

The evidence in detail is as follows:

(a) The Greek MSS.  $\aleph$ , B, A, and C omit it; the two latter are defective here but the gap is too small to admit this section. L has a small space; MSS. of the ninth to tenth century as well as some sixty cursive MSS. omit it. Many MSS. of the Old Latin as also the Syriac versions and the oldest MSS. of the Coptic versions omit it.

(b) Two MSS., E and M, of the ninth to tenth century, as also fifty-eight cursive MSS. have the passage but mark it with an *obelus* as doubtful.

(c) Eleven Cursive MSS. assign it a place at the close of St. John's Gospel; the so-called "Ferrar-group" of Cursives, viz. Nos. 13, 69, 124, 346, 556, place it after Luke xxi.

(d) The Patristic evidence is confusing: Papias, St. Jerome and St. Augustine witness to a very early tradition assigning it a place in the New Testament. But St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Chrysostom and Theophylact, who all commented on St. John's Gospel, have no comment on this passage. That St. Chrysostom, however, knew of this passage is clear from his *Hom. LX. in Joan*.<sup>2</sup> We have no remains of Origen's *Commentary* on John v. 1.-viii. 19.

The fact that early MSS. known to St. Jerome had the passage, the further fact that our earliest MSS. omit it, and the evident uncertainty on the part of the later MSS. as to the place to be assigned to it, enable us to conclude (a) that the passage is exceedingly ancient, (b) that its origin may well have been the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*,<sup>3</sup> that the Ferrar MSS. may be correct in placing it after Luke xxi. where it fits in without, as in the case of St. John's Gospel, interrupting the sequence of events. If it is true that the passage is not in the style of St. John—a point on which it is dangerous to dogmatize—it will only follow that while tradition holds it

<sup>1</sup> *H.E.* III. xxxix. 16; Eusebius does not say that Papias derived it from this Gospel though this may be meant; his words strictly only mean that it was found in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, whether by Papias or by Eusebius is not clear.

<sup>2</sup> *P.G.* LIX. 334. "For the Lord received with much kindness the Chananæan woman, the Samaritan, too, wicked and impure, and that other prostitute whom the Jews condemned He received and healed, and He allowed his feet to be washed by the tears of an impure woman." *Hom.* LII. closes with vii. 51; *Hom.* LIII. opens with viii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> See Von Kasteren, S.J. in *R.B.* January, 1911, p. 96. See also *R.B.* October, 1898, July, 1899, p. 478, July, 1908. For the Detroit MSS. which omit it, see above, p. 218; also *R.B.* April, 1911, for the earliest Syriac version of the passage.

to be a portion of the inspired Gospel it does not declare it to be a portion of St. John's Gospel. And more than this we are not called on to believe.

## I. The Greek of St. John's Gospel.

St. John's style is exceedingly simple, construction is absent, he has a few connecting particles which serve his purpose; these he uses with a reiteration which might well cause monotony. Thus, taking one or two chapters at random, we notice in ch. vi. how he introduces each sentence almost alternately by οὖν and the enclitic δέ. The breaks in the discourses he indicates by νῦν, which is quite characteristic of his style, by καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, e.g. xi. 43, or similar expressions, cf. xii. 16, 33, vi. 59, xi. 11, 28, viii. 20, xxi. 14, 22, 31. This very simplicity of style sometimes produces confusion, thus Origen remarks on iv. 42 "perchance the context does mean this; but John being of uncultured speech expressed but clumsily what he had in his mind."<sup>1</sup> The same features reappear in the three *Epistles*, sentence after sentence is introduced by καὶ, often, too, by ἔάν; note, too, the curious opening by ὁ with the participle, 1 John ii. 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, etc., or by πᾶς with the participle, ii. 23, iii. 4, 6, 9, 15, etc. In the *Apocalypse* considerably more than half the verses commence with καὶ.<sup>2</sup>

It is the same with the terminology employed by John; his thoughts revolve round a few definite terms, e.g. "truth" and "witness," "light" and "darkness," "knowledge" and "belief," "faith" and "works," "love," "glory," "abiding," "judgment," and "signs."

<sup>1</sup> *Tom. XIII.* 53 in *Joan.* P.G. XIV. 500.

<sup>2</sup> St. Jerome's words on the presumed "rusticity" of the Evangelist are worth noting: "Men marvelled that Peter and John knew the Law where they had not learned letters. Yet what others are wont to gain by practice and daily meditation on the Law was suggested to them by the Holy Spirit; they were, as it is written, 'taught of God.' . . . Was John a rustic, a fisherman, a man of no learning? Whence, then, prithee, came that pronouncement: 'In the beginning was the Word?' *Ep.* LIII. 3-4, P.L. XXII. 543. And again: 'A Hebrew of the Hebrews, from the Lord's breast he drew his wisdom . . . he cared not overmuch what the Greek Scriptures (*litteræ*) contained but he interpreted word for word as he read in the Hebrew.' In *Zach.* xii. 10, P.L. XXV. 1514.



It is well to note the extent to which St. John has monopolized some of these expressions; thus *μαρτυρεῖν* occurs 33 times in the rest of N.T., but 48 times in the Johannine writings, *i.e.* 34 in the *Gospel*, 11 in the *Epistles*, 3 in *Apocalypse*; *μαρτυρία* 14 times in John's *Gospel*, 8 in the *Epistles*, 9 in *Apocalypse*; 7 in rest of N.T.; *μαρτύριον* however occurs 18 times in N.T. and but once in *Apoc.* xv. 5; so too *μάρτυς* 4 times in *Apocalypse*, 6 in rest of N.T.; *δοξάξαι* 22 in the *Gospel*, 2 in *Apocalypse*, 35 in rest of N.T.; *δόξα* is of frequent occurrence in N.T. but John uses it 19 times in his *Gospel* and 17 times in the *Apocalypse*; *πιστεύειν* occurs 97 times in the *Gospel* and 10 times in 1 John as against 140 occurrences in the rest of N.T.; curiously enough the noun *πίστις* never occurs in the *Gospel* but 4 times in the *Apocalypse* and 1 in 1 John v. 4, against 231 in rest of N.T.; though insistence on “works” is very marked throughout the *Pauline Epistles* this is not the case with the *Synoptic Gospels* wherein the term “works” only occurs 9 times, St. John has it 28 times in his *Gospel*, 5 in his *Epistles*, and 19 times in *Apocalypse*.<sup>1</sup> Only once does St. John speak of “portents” *τέρατα* iv. 48, but he refers to “signs,” *σημεῖα*, 17 times in his *Gospel* and 7 times in *Apocalypse*. It is the same with *κρίνειν* and *κρίσις* so frequently on the lips of St. Paul, so unfrequent in the *Synoptics*, yet John uses *κρίσις* 11 times in his *Gospel*, 1 in 1 John iv. 17 and 4 times in *Apocalypse*, *κρίνειν* 19 times in the *Gospel* but neither in the *Epistles* nor in *Apocalypse*; *ἀληθεία* occurs 23 times in his *Gospel*, and 20 times in his *Epistles*; *ἀληθής* 13 times in the *Gospel* and 3 times in his *Epistles*, yet only once in Matt. xxii. 16 and Mark xii. 14, and 5 times in the rest of N.T.; *ἀληθινός* 8 times in his *Gospel*, 4 in *Epistles*, 9 times in *Apocalypse*, yet only twice in the rest of N.T.; the adverb *ἀληθῶς* occurs 11 times in John's *Gospel*, 1 in 1 John ii. 5, and 9 times in the rest of N.T.; *ὥς* occurs 22 times in his *Gospel*, 6 in 1 John, 3 in *Apocalypse*; *φιλεῖν* occurs 11 times in his *Gospel*, twice in *Apocalypse*; *ἀγάπη* 7 times in his *Gospel*, 21 in *Epistles*, twice in *Apocalypse*; *ἀγαπᾶν* 31 each in *Gospel* and *Epistles* and 4 in *Apocalypse*; lastly the truly Johannine word *μένειν* occurs 40 times in John's *Gospel*, 26 in his *Epistles*, and once in *Apocalypse*, and this always in the mystical sense of our “abiding” with God or of His “abiding” with us.

## J. The Theology of the Gospel.

### *The Relation of the Son to the Father :*

He is the *Son*, i. 18, 34, 49, iii. 16, 18, 35, v. 19-28, 36-38; 43, 45 vi. 40, 70, viii. 27, 35-36, ix. 35-36, xi. 4, 27, xix. 7, xx. 31; He is *pre-existent*, i. 18, 27, 30, iii. 13, 31, vi. 38, 42, 50-51, viii. 23, 38, 56-58, xvii. 5, 21-26, etc.; He *came down from heaven*, iii. 13, 31.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Augustine, *De Fide et Operibus*, xiv. (22-23) P.L. XL. 211.



vi. 38, 42, 50-51, 59, viii. 23, 42, xi. 27, xii. 47, xvi. 27-30, xvii. 14, 16; God is His *Father*, ii. 17, iii. 35, etc.; He *ascends* to Him, vi. 63, vii. 33-36, viii. 14, 21, xii. 8, xiii. 3, 36, xiv. 2-5, 13, 28, xvi. 7, 9, 16-19, 28, xix. 17; He is *One with the Father*, x. 30, 33, 36, xii. 44-45, xiv. 6, 7, 9, 21, xv. 23-24, xvi. 3, 15, 27, xvii. 10-11, 21-23; the Father is *greater* than He, xiv. 28; the Son is *in* the Father, x. 38, xiv. 10, 11, 20, xvi. 32; the Father is *in* the Son, x. 38, xiv. 10-11; He is *dependent* on the Father, v. 19, 30, vi. 37, 58, vii. 17, viii. 18, 26, 28, 29, 38, 40, ix. 4, x. 18, 29, 32, xii. 44, 49-50, xiv. 10, 24, xvii. 2, 6-8, 9-17; He is *sent* by the Father, iii. 34, iv. 34, v. 23, 24, 30, 36-38, vi. 29, 38-40, 44, 58, vii. 16, 28-29, viii. 16, 26; He is *from* the Father, vii. 29, viii. 14, 42, xiii. 3, xvi. 27, xvii. 8, 29, 42, ix. 4, x. 36, xii. 44, 49, xiv. 24, xvii. 3, 18, 23, xx. 21; He is *loved* by the Father, v. 20, x. 17, xv. 9, xvii. 23-24, 26; He *loves* the Father, xiv. 31, xv. 10; He *knows* the Father, vii. 29, viii. 38, 40, 55, x. 15, xv. 15, xvii. 25; He *honours* the Father, viii. 49; is *known* by the Father, x. 15; *obeys* the Father, x. 18, xiv. 31, xv. 10; He *glorifies* the Father, viii. 54, xi. 4, 28, xii. 16, 23, xiii. 31-32, xvii. 1, 5; and is *glorified* by the Father, xiii. 31-32, xiv. 13, xv. 8, xvii. 1, 4; He *pleases* the Father, viii. 29; he is *sealed* by the Father, vi. 27, x. 36; the Father *testifies* to the Son, v. 37, viii. 18; the Father *hears* the Son, xi. 22, 41-42; the Father *gives all* to Him, xii. 3; the Father *grants* all that we ask in the Name of the Son, xiv. 13-14, xv. 7, 16, xvi. 23-24; the Father *honours* those who believe in the Son, xii. 26.

### *The Son in His Relation to us :*

He is the *source of life*, i. 4, v. 21, 25-26, 40, vi. 58, xiv. 6; the *Light of the world*, i. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, iii. 17-21, v. 35, viii. 12, ix. 5, xii. 35-36, 46; became *Incarnate*, i. 14, etc.; is full of *grace and truth*, i. 14, 16-17; is the *Lamb of God* who taketh away the sin of the world, i. 29, 36; is *sinless*, viii. 46, ix. 16, 24-25, 31; is the *Christ*, i. 41, iv. 25-26, 29, vi. 70, vii. 26-27, 31, 41-42, ix. 22, xi. 27, xvii. 3, xx. 31; is the *Son of Man*, i. 51, iii. 13-14, v. 27, vi. 27, 63, viii. 28; possesses *Divine knowledge*, i. 42, 47, 49, ii. 24-25, iv. 17-19, 50, v. 6, 14, vi. 6, 15, 65, 71-72, vii. 15-16, 20, viii. 6, 37, 40, ix. 3, x. 24, xi. 4, 14, xiii. 10-11, 18-19, 21, 26-27, 38, xiv. 29, xvi. 4-5, 30, xviii. 4, xxi. 6, 18-19; came to *save the world*, iii. 17, iv. 42, xii. 47; was *weary*, iv. 6; He *lays down His life*, x. 15, 17; is to be *crucified*, iii. 14, viii. 28, xii. 32-34; is to *die*, xi. 50-51, xii. 7; our *Redeemer*, vi. 52; His *hour is His own*, ii. 4, vii. 6, 8, 30, viii. 20; He comes in *His own Name*, v. 43, vi. 38; divers *testimonies* to Him, that of the *Father*, v. 37, viii. 18; of the *Holy Spirit*, xv. 26, xvi. 14; of *Moses*, v. 45-47; of the *Scriptures*, v. 39; of the *Baptist*, i. 19, 36, iii. 28-30, v. 33; of His own *works*, v. 36, x. 25, 37-38, xiv. 12; of the *Apostles*, xv. 27; He testifies to *Himself*, v. 31, viii. 13-14, 18; His words are *spirit and life*, vi. 64, 69; He *draws* all to Himself, vi. 35, 39, 45, vii. 37, xiv. 6; He is to be *honoured*, v. 23; is the *Way*, the *Truth* and the *Life*, xiv. 6; is to *rise* again, x. 17-18; is to *come again*, xiv. 18, 28, xvi. 16-19, 22; is to be our *Judge*, v. 22, 27, 30, viii. 16, 26, ix. 39, *cp.* viii. 15, xii. 47; is the *Bread of Life*, vi. 35, 41, 48-57; His *Blood* is

to be drunk, vi. 54-57; He *abides* in us, vi. 57; and we *in Him*, xiv. 20, 23, xv. 4-7; He gives *eternal life*, iii. 15, 16, 36, iv. 14, 36, v. 24, 29, vi. 27, 40, 52-55, 59, 69, viii. 51-52, x. 28, xvii. 2; is the *cause of our Resurrection*, v. 25-29, vi. 39-40, 44, 55, xi. 25; divers *Names* belonging to Him, the *Prophet*, i. 21, vi. 14, vii. 40; the *Beginning* (?), viii. 25; the *Only-begotten of the Father*, i. 14, 18, iii. 16, 18; *Rabbi*, i. 38, iv. 31, vi. 25; *Rabbouni*, xx. 16; the *King of Israel*, i. 49, xii. 13; the *King of the Jews*, xviii. 33-37, xix. 3, 15, 19-21; the *Bridegroom*, iii. 29; the *Door*, x. 7, 9; the *Shepherd*, x. 11, 14; the *Vine*, xv. 1; the *Master*, xi. 18; xiii. 13-14, xix. 16; the *Lord*, xiii. 13-14, 25, xx. 2, 13, 18, 25, 28, xxi. 7, 12, 15, 17, 20-21; *God*, xx. 28; His *love for us*, xiii. 34, xv. 9-10; He will *show us the Father*, xvi. 25; He *sends the Paraclete*, xv. 26, xvi. 7; we can *do nothing without Him*, xv. 4-5; He has *overcome* the world, xvi. 33; He gives power to *forgive sins*, xx. 22-23; He declares our future resurrection, xi. 23.

### *The Holy Spirit :*

*Descends on Christ*, i. 32-33; His share in the work of our regeneration, iii. 5, 6, 8; is not given by measure, iii. 34; is "*sent*," xiv. 16, 26, xv. 26; *abides* in us, xiv. 16-17; is the *Spirit of Truth*, xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 13; will *teach all things*, xiv. 26, xvi. 13; is *sent in Christ's Name*, xiv. 26; will *remind* the disciples of all things, xiv. 26; is *sent by Christ*, xv. 26, xvi. 7; He *proceeds* from the Father, xv. 26; *testifies* to the Son, xv. 26; is *dependent* on the Father, xvi. 13; and on the Son, xvi. 14; *glorifies* the Son, xvi. 14; and will *glorify Him*, xvi. 14; He will *convince* the world of sin, of justice and of judgment, xvi. 8-11; is bestowed on the Apostles, xx. 22.

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## CHAPTER XV

### THE NEW TESTAMENT PARABLES AND MIRACLES

- A. Of "Parable" in General.
  - B. Lists of the Parables occurring in the Synoptic Gospels.
  - C. Of the Meaning of "Miracle."
  - D. Lists of the Miracles or of Allusions to Miraculous Events in the New Testament.
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#### A. Of "Parable" in General.

THE Hebrews had but one word for all those forms of veiled speech which are comprised under the various terms: parable, allegory, metaphor, and proverb. Alongside this term, מָשָׁל, *mashal*, we sometimes find another, קִידָּה, *kidah*, or "riddle," which the Septuagint renders by πρόβλημα, *problema*, or σκότεινος λόγος, "a dark saying." But the generic term for all these forms of speech is *mashal*, a word derived from a root which appears to mean "to compare" and also "to dominate." This latter meaning is of importance for it shows us that *mashal* denotes not merely a dark saying or a comparison, but magisterial teaching. In English speech we distinguish between proverb and parable, between metaphor and allegory; riddles hold quite a distinct place. Proverb and parable are intimately connected, the latter is an expanded form of the former, e.g. "Physician, heal thyself" is in proverbial form, but it would be easy to expand it into a parable. Similarly allegory is but expanded metaphor. This will be clearer if we realize

that the foundation of all these forms of speech is illustration of the less known by the more known. When we merely indicate the parallelism existing between two distinct spheres of thought or action, between the material, for instance, and the spiritual, between the natural and the supernatural, we have what we may term the simple *simile*, e.g. in Ps. i. 3, ii. 9. If we extend this comparison into a narrative we get the *fable* if we are illustrating the need of human prudence by the cunning of the animal kingdom; we have the *parable* if we are illustrating the spiritual life by the purely natural. Thus compare the fable set forth by Joatham in Jud. ix., and the parables of the woman who had lost a groat or of the woman who leavened her meal. If, however, we do not point out the similarity but presuppose it, we can then talk in the terms, so to speak, of that which serves for our illustration and yet be readily understood as meaning the thing itself which we wish to illustrate. If we simply *use* these illustrative terms, then we are speaking *metaphorically*; thus *the lion of the tribe of Juda* is a metaphorical expression; we are talking in the terms which serve as an illustration of certain features well known to exist in the tribe in question. If, however, we *expand* this mode of speech into an independent description we have *allegory*, e.g. in Ezech. xvii. 3-10 or in John x. 1-29.

Thus the briefest description of a parable would be "A saying respecting earthly things, but with a spiritual application." In order to differentiate parable from its unexpanded form, the proverb, many are inclined to restrict the term "parable" to those which are cast in narrative form. But this is misleading since in N.T. the term "parable" is used to cover all kinds of illustration, whether allegory, proverb, maxim, homely truth or narrative; all agree in being truths conveying a spiritual lesson.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Origen, *Contra Celsum*, III. 45-46, IV. 87; also *Comment. on Prov.* i. 6, ed. Delarue, III. 3; also *Hom.* X. 4, 16, *Hom.* XIV. 12 in *Matt. ib.* 446, 461, 630.

Wiseman's famous *Essays on the Parables, Miracles and Actions of the New Testament* are too much neglected nowadays, D.R. 1849-1850, also in his *Collected Essays*, Vol. I.

## B. Lists of the Parables in the Synoptic Gospels.

### *In St. Matthew's Gospel :*

1. The Salt that has lost its savour, v. 13; Mark ix. 49; Luke xiv. 34-35.
2. The Candle, v. 15-16; Mark iv. 21-22; Luke viii. 16-17; xi. 33-36.
3. Be at peace with thine adversary, v. 25-26; Luke xii. 58-59.
4. The Birds of the air, vi. 26; Luke xii. 24.
5. The Lilies of the field, vi. 28-30; Luke xii. 27-28.
6. The Mote and the Beam, vii. 3; Luke vi. 41-42.
7. The Tree and its Fruits, vii. 18; xii. 33; Luke vi. 43-44.
8. The House founded on a Rock, vii. 24-27; Luke vi. 48-49.
9. The Garments, ix. 16; Mark ii. 21; Luke v. 36.
10. The Bottles, ix. 17; Mark ii. 22; Luke v. 37-38.
11. The Disciple is not above his master, x. 24; Luke vi. 40;  
*cp.* John xiii. 16.
12. The Strong man, xii. 25-30; Mark iii. 23-27; Luke xi. 17-23.
13. The Sower, xiii. 3-9b, 18-23. Mark iv. 1-20; Luke viii. 5-15.
14. The Cockle, xiii. 24-30, 36-43.
15. The Mustard Seed, xiii. 31-32. Mark iv. 30-32; Luke xiii.  
18-19.
16. The Leaven, xiii. 33; Luke xiii. 20-21.
17. The Hidden Treasure, xiii. 44.
18. The Pearl bought at a great price, xiii. 45-46.
19. The Net cast into the sea, xiii. 47-50.
20. The Things that defile a man, xv. 11-20, Mark vii. 14-23.
21. The Hundred Sheep, xviii. 11-13; Luke xv. 3-7.
22. The Unmerciful Servant, xviii. 22-35.
23. The Labourers in the Vineyard, xx. 1-16.
24. The Two Sons, xxi. 28-32.
25. The Husbandmen in the Vineyard, xxi. 33-45; Mark xii.  
1-11; Luke xx. 9-18.
26. The Marriage Feast, xxii. 1-14.
27. The Fig-tree, xxiv. 32-42; Mark xiii. 28-30; Luke xxi. 29-30.
28. The Householder watching for the thief, xxiv. 43; Mark  
xiii. 33; Luke xii. 39.
29. The Faithful Servant and the Unfaithful, xxiv. 45-51  
Luke xii. 42-48.
30. The Ten Virgins, xxv. 1-13.
31. The Ten Talents, xxv. 14-20.

Of these thirty-one parables twenty are to be found in Luke, eleven in Mark. Ten are common to Matthew and Luke alone. Only one occurs in Matthew and Mark alone.

### *The Parables in St. Mark's Gospel :*

1. The Garments, ii. 19-21; Matt. ix. 16; Luke v. 36.
2. The Wine-bottles, ii. 22; Matt. ix. 17; Luke v. 37-38.

3. The Strong man, iii. 23-27; Matt. xii. 25-30; Luke xi. 17-23.
4. The Sower, with the explanation, iv. 1-29; Matt. xiii. 3-9; 18-23; Luke viii. 5-15.
5. The Candle, iv. 21-22; Matt. v. 15-16; Luke viii. 16-17, xi. 33-36.
6. The Seed growing secretly, iv. 26-29.
7. The Mustard-seed, iv. 30-32; Matt. xiii. 31-32; Luke xiii. 18-19.
8. The Things that defile a man, vii. 14-23; Matt. xv. 11-29.
9. The Salt that has lost its savour, ix. 49; Matt. v. 13; Luke xiv. 34-35.
10. The Wicked Husbandmen, xii. 1-11; Matt. xx. 33-34; Luke xx. 9-19.
11. The Fig-tree, xiii. 28-30; Matt. xxiv. 32; Luke xxi. 29-30.
12. The Householder watching for the thief, xiii. 33; Matt. xxiv. 43; Luke xii. 39.
13. The Man who went into a far country, xiii. 34-37; *cp.* Matt. xxv. 14-30.

If the parables of the “Garment” and the “Bottles” be regarded as distinct, then we have thirteen parables in Mark’s Gospel. Of the thirty-one parables given by Matthew, Mark has only eleven. Only one is common to Matthew and Mark alone, viz. no. 8 above. Two are peculiar to Mark, nos. 6 and 13. The student should note that the order in which the parables are given in Mark is practically the same as that in Matthew, with the exception that the parable of the “Candle” is removed from the *Sermon on the Mount* and, as in Luke, placed after the parable of the Sower. Note, too, that Luke repeats this parable of the “Candle” later on. Ten of Mark’s parables also occur in Luke.

### *The Parables in St. Luke’s Gospel.*

1. The Garments, v. 36; Matt. ix. 16; Mark ii. 21.
2. The Bottles, v. 37-38; Matt. ix. 17; Mark ii. 22.
3. The New and the Old Wine, v. 39.
4. The House on a Rock, vi. 48-49; Matt. vii. 24-27.
5. The Two Debtors, vii. 41-48.
6. The Sower, viii. 5-15; Matt. xiii. 3-9, 18-23; Mark iv. 1-20.
7. Can the Blind lead the blind? vi. 39.
8. The Disciple is not above his master, vi. 40; Matt. x. 24; *cp.* John xiii. 16.
9. The Mote and the Beam, vi. 41-42; Matt. vii. 3.
10. The Tree and its fruits, vi. 43-44; Matt. vii. 18; xii. 33.
11. The Candle, viii. 16-17; xi. 33-36; Matt. v. 15-16; Mark iv. 21-22.
12. The Good Samaritan, x. 30-37.



13. The Friend at Midnight, xi. 5-10.
14. The Strong Man, xi. 17-23; Matt. xii. 25-30; Mark iii. 23-27.
15. The Man with the Unclean Spirit, xi. 24-26.
16. The Candle (repeated), xi. 33-36; *cp.* viii. 16-17.
17. The Rich Fool, xii. 16-21.
18. The Ravens, xii. 24; Matt. vi. 26.
19. The Lilies of the field, xii. 27-28; Matt. vi. 28, 30.
20. The Servants waiting for the return of their Lord, xii. 35-38.
21. The Householder watching for the thief, xii. 39-40; Matt. xxiv. 43; Mark xiii. 33.
22. The Faithful Servant and the Unfaithful, xii. 42-48; Matt. xxiv. 45-51.
23. Be at peace with thine adversary, xii. 58-59; Matt. v. 25-26.
24. The Barren fig-tree, xiii. 6-9.
25. The Mustard Seed, xiii. 18-19; Matt. xiii. 31-32; Mark iv. 30-32.
26. The Leaven, xiii. 20-21; Matt. xiii. 33.
27. The Chief Seats, xiv. 7-14.
28. The Great Supper, xiv. 16-24; not to be identified with the parable in Matt. xxii. 1-15.
29. The Building of the Tower, xiv. 28-30.
30. The King going out to war, xiv. 31-32.
31. The Salt that has lost its savour, xiv. 34-35; Matt. v. 13; Mark ix. 49.
32. The Hundred Sheep, xv. 3-7; Matt. xviii. 12-14.
33. The Ten Groats, xv. 8-10.
34. The Prodigal Son, xv. 11-32.
35. The Unjust Steward, xvi. 1-13.
36. Dives and Lazarus, xvi. 19-31.
37. The Servant returning from ploughing, xvii. 7-10.
38. The Unjust Judge, xviii. 1-8.
39. The Pharisee and the Publican, xviii. 9-14.
40. The parable of the Pounds, xix. 11-27; not to be identified with that of the Talents in Matt. xxv. 14-30.
41. The Husbandmen in the Vineyard, xx. 9-18; Matt. xxi. 33-45; Mark xii. 1-11.
42. The Fig-tree, xxi. 29-30; Matt. xxiv. 32; Mark xiii. 28-30.

### C. The Miracles of the New Testament.

*Of the Meaning of "Miracle."*—*Miracle* may be defined as that which takes place by Divine power outside the ordinary course of nature. Miracles are not an end in themselves but are intended to show either the truth of what is taught or the presence of God in the person who teaches. The object of Christ's miracles was to prove His Divinity that so men might come to salvation. Some of these miracles proved His Divinity in that the cures He wrought were

such as could only have been done by Divine power, *e.g.* John ix. 32 ; others proved it by the way in which they were performed, for He healed by His own power, not by praying for a miracle from God, *e.g.* Luke vi. 19. These miracles, then, were wrought in confirmation of the most stupendous doctrine, viz. that Christ was God. In proving to men His Divinity He had to show not only that He came from the Father—to prove which He prayed before working the miracle, *e.g.* Matt. xiv. 19—but also that He was equal to the Father. In proof of this He forgave sins and raised the dead by His own inherent power, *e.g.* Matt. ix. 29. While many of His miracles were such as had been performed by the Saints of the Old Testament, yet He alone performed them frequently and by His own power. At the same time some of His miracles may be said to be peculiarly His own in that none shared them with him, *e.g.* His Virgin-Birth, His Resurrection, His Transfiguration, and His Ascension.

Further, in proof of His Divinity He had to show His dominion over the whole of creation, over evil spirits as well as over the lower created world, thus *cp.* Zach. xiii. 2, and John xii. 31. Remembering that miracles are but a means to an end and that that end is the illumination of men's souls for their ultimate salvation, we shall understand that the interior illuminations which He afforded to some, *e.g.* to Levi and the sons of Zebedee when they promptly obeyed His call, were not so much miracles as the goal of all miracles. At the same time, inasmuch as these illuminations produced certain amazing exterior effects, they caused men to marvel and were thus proofs of the Divinity of Him Who produced them ; in this sense they may be grouped under the heading of miracles. In so far, too, as certain conversions were instantaneous so that Saul became on the instant St. Paul, or the “sinner in the city” St. Mary Magdalen, they were miraculous in that they did not follow the ordinary course of such conversions which generally proceed through certain definite stages.

Similarly, we must not suppose that the Transfiguration was not a miracle on the ground that the Divinity was but hidden in the Incarnate Word of God and that its manifestation was therefore more natural than its obscuration. For

the glory of the Divinity was not a permanent quality of the Sacred Humanity which, on occasion of the Transfiguration, was affected by it much as the air is affected by the light that passes through it. If we refuse to regard the Transfiguration as a miracle we must equally refuse to regard Christ's walking on the water a miracle.<sup>1</sup>

#### D. Lists of the Miracles, and Allusions to Miracles, in the New Testament.

##### *St. Matthew :*

- i. 18. The miraculous conception of Christ, Luke i. 27.
- ii. 2, 9. The star that appeared to the Magi.
- iii. 16, 17. The Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove; the voice from heaven, *cp.* Mark i. 10-11; Luke iii. 21-22; John i. 32-33.
- iv. 23-24. A series of miraculous cures.
- viii. 2-4. He heals a leper, *cp.* Mark i. 40-45; Luke v. 12-14.
- viii. 5-13. He heals the centurion's servant, *cp.* Luke vii. 1-10.
- viii. 14-15. He heals Peter's wife's mother, *cp.* Mark i. 30-31; Luke iv. 38-39.
- viii. 16. He heals many, *cp.* Mark i. 32-34; Luke iv. 40-41.
- viii. 23-27. He stills the storm, *cp.* Mark iv. 36-40; Luke viii. 22-25.
- viii. 28-34. He heals two demoniacs at Gerasa; the devils pass into the swine. It should be remembered that their passing into these swine was not a miracle worked by Christ but something done by the evil spirits and simply permitted by Him; *cp.* Mark v. 1-20; Luke viii. 26-39, in both Mark and Luke only one demoniac is mentioned.
- ix. 1-8. He heals the palsied man, *cp.* Mark ii. 3-12; Luke v. 18-26.
- ix. 18-31. He raises to life the ruler's daughter, and on His way to the house He heals the woman with the issue of blood, *cp.* Mark v. 22-43; Luke viii. 41-56; in both Mark and Luke the ruler's name is given as Jairus.
- ix. 27-31. He heals two blind men.
- ix. 32-34. He heals one who is possessed and dumb, *cp.* Luke xi. 14.
- ix. 35. He heals many, *cp.* Mark vi. 6.
- x. 1. He confers on the Apostles the power of healing, *cp.* Mark iii. 15; Luke ix. 1-2.
- xi. 5. He heals many, *cp.* Luke vii. 21.
- xi. 21. The miracles He has wrought in Corozain, Luke x. 13.
- xi. 23. The miracles He has wrought in Capharnaum.

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<sup>1</sup> For the doctrine here laid down see St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* III. *qu.* xliii-xlv.; also St. Augustine, *Tract. in Joan.* VIII. 1-3; XVII. 1; XXIV. 1-2; XCI. 2-3, etc.

xii. 9-13. He heals a man with a withered hand, *cp.* Mark iii. 1-5; Luke vi. 6-10.

xii. 22. He heals a man who is possessed, and blind as well as dumb.

xiii. 58. He works "not many miracles" at Nazareth, *cp.* Mark vi. 1-5; Luke iv. 16.

xiv. 2. Herod hears of His "mighty works," *cp.* Mark vi. 14; Luke ix. 9.

xiv. 14. He heals the sick, *cp.* Luke ix. 11.

xiv. 15-21. He multiplies bread for 5,000 men, *cp.* Mark vi. 31-44; Luke ix. 12-17; John vi. 3-14; also Matt. xvi. 9, Mark viii. 19.

xiv. 24-25. He walks on the sea, *cp.* Mark vi. 48; John vi. 19.

xiv. 26-31. He enables Peter to do the same.

xiv. 32. The wind suddenly ceased, *cp.* Mark vi. 51.

xiv. 36. He healed many who sought to touch His garment, *cp.* Mark vi. 55-56.

xv. 22-28. He heals the daughter of the Syro-phœnician woman, *cp.* Mark vii. 24-30.

xv. 30. He heals many.

xv. 32-39. He multiplies bread for 4,000 men, *cp.* Mark viii. 1-9; also Matt. xvi. 10, Mark viii. 20.

xvii. 1-9. He is transfigured, *cp.* Mark ix. 1-9; Luke ix. 28-36, and 2 Peter, i. 16-18.

xvii. 14-17. He heals the "lunatic boy," *cp.* Mark ix. 16-26; Luke ix. 38-44.

xvii. 26. The stater is miraculously found in the fish's mouth.

xix. 2. He heals many.

xx. 29-34. He heals two blind men, as He was going "out from Jericho"; *cp.* Mark x. 45-52; Luke xviii. 35-43; Mark and Luke only mention one blind man; Mark tells us that his name was Bartimæus. Moreover both Mark and Luke say that He healed him as He was "entering into Jericho."

xxi. 12. He cleanses the Temple of buyers and sellers, *cp.* Mark xi. 15-16; Luke xix. 45; John ii. 13-16. St. Jerome remarks<sup>1</sup> that "of all the miracles which He performed this was the most wonderful"; similarly Origen<sup>2</sup> says that "it was not second in point of power to any of the most marvellous works He wrought."

xxi. 14. He healed many in the Temple.

xxi. 19-21. He curses the fig-tree and it withers away, *cp.* Mark xi. 13-14, 20-21.

xxvi. 26-29. The miracle of Trans-substantiation, "a greater miracle than creation," St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, III. lxxv. 8, ad 3m.; *cp.* Mark xiv. 22-25; Luke xxii. 19-20.

xxvii. 45. The darkness at the Crucifixion, *cp.* Mark xv. 33; Luke xxiii. 44-45.

xxvii. 51. The veil of the Temple was rent, *cp.* Mark xv. 38, Luke xxiii. 45.

xxvii. 51. The rock was opened at His death.

<sup>1</sup> *Com. on Matt.* xxi. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Tom. I.* 16 in *Joann.*

xxvii. 52-53. The graves were opened and the dead arose.  
 xxviii. 6. The Resurrection, *cp.* Mark xvi. 6; Luke xxiv. 6;  
 John xx. 17.

## *St. Mark :*

i. 23-27. He frees a man from an unclean spirit, *cp.* Luke iv. 33-35.  
 i. 39. He casts out devils.  
 iii. 9-12. He heals many and casts out evil spirits.  
 vi. 7. He gives the Apostles power over unclean spirits.  
 vi. 13. The Apostles cast out many evil spirits.  
 vii. 32-37. He heals one who is deaf and dumb.  
 viii. 22-26. He heals a blind man.  
 ix. 37-38. *No man that doth a miracle in My Name can soon speak ill of Me, cp.* Luke ix. 49.  
 xvi. 19. The Ascension, *cp.* Acts i. 9.  
 xvi. 17-20. The promise that His disciples shall be able to cast out devils, to drink poison with impunity; the signs that followed on their ministry.

## *St. Luke :*

i. 13, 24. The miraculous conception of the Baptist.  
 i. 20, 64. The miraculous dumbness of Zachary.  
 i. 31, 35. The miraculous conception of Christ.  
 i. 41, 44. The Baptist is miraculously filled with the Holy Spirit.  
 ii. 7. The miraculous birth of Christ.  
 iv. 30. He passes through the midst of His enemies.  
 v. 1-11. The miraculous draught of fishes.  
 vii. 11-16. He raises to life the son of the widow of Naim.  
 vii. 21-22. He heals many.  
 ix. 6. The Apostles performed miracles of healing everywhere.  
 x. 9. He gives to the Seventy-two disciples the power to heal the sick.  
 x. 17. They heal many.  
 xiii. 11-17. He heals the woman with the "spirit of infirmity."  
 xiii. 22. *I cast out devils and do cures.*  
 xiv. 1-4. He heals the dropsical man.  
 xvii. 12-19. He heals ten lepers.  
 xxii. 51. He heals the ear of the servant of the High priest.

## *St. John :*

i. 47-50. Christ's knowledge of Nathaniel, *cp.* ii. 24-25; iv. 18;  
 vi. 15; vi. 71-72; xiii. 1, 3, 11, 38.  
 ii. 1-11. He changes water into wine at Cana at Galilee.  
 ii. 14-17. The clearing of the Temple.  
 iv. 46-54. He heals the ruler's son at Capharnaum.  
 v. 2-16. He heals the paralytic, *cp.* vii. 21, 23.  
 vi. 5-13. The multiplication of the loaves for 5,000 men.  
 vi. 19. He walks on the water.  
 vi. 21. The ship came immediately to land on His entering it.  
 viii. 59. He hid Himself, *cp.* x. 39, and Luke iv. 30.

ix. 1-38. He heals the man born blind, *cp.* x. 21.

xi. 1-44. He raises Lazarus to life, *cp.* xii. 1, 9, 17.

xii. 37. His "many miracles"; *cp.* v. 36; xv. 24, etc.

xviii. 6. He causes the soldiers who would arrest Him to fall.

xx-xxi. His Resurrection.

xxi. 1-13. The miraculous draught of fishes.

For the constant allusion to "signs" that he wrought, see ii. 23, vi. 2, 26, vii. 3-4, 31, xi. 47, xii. 37, xx. 30, xxi. 25.

For Christ's allusions to His own "Works" as proofs of His Divinity, see v. 17, 36, vii. 21, ix. 3-4, x. 25, 32, 37, 38, xiv. 10, 12, xv. 24.

### *The Acts of the Apostles :*

i. 1. Jesus began to *do* and to teach.

i. 3. The many *proofs* of His Resurrection.

i. 9. His Ascension into heaven.

ii. 1-4. The Descent of the Holy Spirit, *cp.* iv. 31, viii. 17, x. 44-45, xi. 15, xix. 6.

ii. 43. "Signs" are wrought by the Apostles, *cp.* v. 12, xiv. 3.

iii. 1-10. Peter and John heal the man lame from birth, *cp.* iv. 9, 14, 16, 21-22.

iv. 30. The Apostles pray that "signs" may accompany their preaching, *cp.* Mark xvi. 20.

v. 1-11. Ananias and Saphira are struck dead.

v. 15-16. Peter's shadow heals many.

v. 19-23. The Apostles are miraculously delivered from prison.

vi. 8. Stephen works many "signs."

viii. 6-8, 13. Philip the Deacon works many "signs."

ix. 3-9. Saul's conversion, *cp.* xxii. 6-16; xxvi. 12-18.

ix. 32-35. Peter raises Eneas.

ix. 36-43. Peter raises Tabitha.

xii. 7-11, 18. Peter is miraculously delivered from prison.

xiii. 9-11. Paul strikes Elymas with blindness.

xiv. 3. Paul works "signs" at Iconium.

xiv. 7-10. At Lystra Paul raises the lame man.

xvi. 16-18. At Philippi he expels the pythonical spirit from a girl.

xvi. 25-26. At Philippi he and Silas are miraculously delivered from prison.

xix. 11-12. Paul's many miracles, *cp.* Rom. xv. 18-19, 2 Cor. xii. 12.

xx. 7-12. He raises Eutychus to life at Troas.

xxviii. 3-6. He is bitten by a viper but feels no effect, *cp.* Mark xvi. 18.

xxviii. 7-8. He heals Publius' father.

xxviii. 9. He works many miracles of healing.

For the many miracles which accompanied the Apostles' preaching such passages should be noted as 1 Cor. ii. 4, xii. 10, xiv. 22, Gal. iii. 5, 1 Thess. i. 5.



## CHAPTER XVI

### THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

- A. A General Statement of the Problem.
- B. A Broad View of the Likeness and Unlikeness of the Three Narratives.
- C. A more Detailed Examination of the Facts.
- D. Some Modern Solutions of the Problem with the Difficulties besetting them.
- E. Conceivable Lines along which the Problem may be solved.
- F. Bibliography.

#### A. General Statement of the Problem.

THE first three Gospels, those of St. Matthew, St. Mark and St. Luke, are commonly known as the *Synoptic Gospels*, not because—as is sometimes supposed—they present us with a *synopsis* of our Lord's life, but because they present the facts from the same point of view.<sup>1</sup> The *Synoptic problem* is the name by which the intricate question of the precise relationship subsisting between these three Gospels is generally known.

This problem may be briefly stated as follows :

These three Gospels proceed on lines which are so extraordinarily alike that it becomes impossible to suppose that they are three completely independent narratives. In what, then, does this mutual interdependence precisely consist? Will it suffice to say that Mark is similar to Matthew

<sup>1</sup> This is confessedly an abnormal use of the word *σύνοψις*, for both it and the verb *συννοπῶ* express rather the action of one mind taking a comprehensive view of many factors than that of many minds envisaging a common subject-matter from one and the same standpoint.

because he “abbreviated” him, as seems to be suggested by St. Augustine? Similarly, that Luke resembles both Matthew and Mark because he wrote subsequent to them and had their Gospels before him as he wrote? Or is it a tenable hypothesis that this similarity is due to the dependence of all three on the same common *oral* tradition? Or once more, that they had certain *written* documents in their possession from which all alike drew? Or yet again, that the similarity is due to their common dependence on a tradition which was both oral and written? And lastly, that since nearly all that is found in Mark is to be found also in Matthew and Luke, and many things not in Mark are to be found in both Matthew and Luke, can we say that Mark wrote first and that Matthew and Luke made use of his Gospel, but supplemented it from some source whence they derived the material which they have in common and which is not to be found in Mark? This latter theory is that generally held at the present time by many critics.

## B. The Likeness and Unlikeness of the Synoptic Narratives.

Nothing but a first-hand acquaintance with the actual facts of the case will enable a student to arrive at any sane conclusion when comparing these conflicting theories.

First of all, then, for the general order followed by the three Evangelists:

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
1. The Infancy.	i—ii.		i—ii.
2. The mission of the Baptist.	iii. 1-12.	i. 1-8.	iii. 1-20.
3. The Baptism of Christ.	iii. 13-17.	i. 9-11.	iii. 21-38.
4. The Temptation.	iv. 1-11.	i. 12-13.	iv. 1-13.
5. The Galilean ministry.	iv. 12— xviii. 35.	i. 14—ix, 49	iv. 14—ix. 50.
6. The Jerusalem ministry.	xix. 1—xxv.	x. 1—xiii. 37.	xviii. 31— xxi. 38.
7. The Passion.	xxvi—xxvii.	xiv—xv.	xxii—xxiii.
8. The Resurrection.	xxviii.	xvi.	xxiv.

The above is the general order of the narratives ; it is in the main that briefly sketched by St. Peter himself, Acts x. 37-40. But though it will thus be evident that the three Evangelists follow in general the same order, it will also be evident that each of them provides certain remarkable exceptions to this rule. Thus Mark altogether omits the narrative of the Infancy. The account of the Infancy, too, which is given by Luke might at first sight be regarded as a supplement to that found in Matthew ; different details are furnished by both Evangelists. Similarly the account of the ministry of the Baptist in Luke is much fuller than that found in Matthew and Mark ; moreover Luke puts the genealogy of Christ after the Baptism. The Temptation is comprised in two verses in Mark ; the order of the temptations is transposed in Matthew and Luke. Most noticeable of all, however, is the addition of a Samaritan or Peræan ministry by Luke ix. 51-xviii. 30, as well as the omission of the events recorded in Mark vi. 45-viii. 26, *i.e.* Christ's walking on the sea ; His rebuke of the Pharisees for their blind adherence to traditions ; the cure of the Syro-phœnician woman's daughter ; the cure of one deaf and dumb ; the multiplication of bread for four thousand men ; the cure of a blind man. In the narrative of the Passion we note Luke's addition of details regarding Herod ; in the Resurrection narrative we note especially the journey to Emmaus. Further, we find that each Evangelist has a series of miracles and parables which are peculiar to himself ; and finally that even where the same events are recorded there are occasional striking changes of order, *e.g.* the place assigned by Luke to the visit to Nazareth, iv. 14-30.

At the same time these differences must not blind us to the fact that these three Evangelists do in the main adhere rigidly to the same march of events and to the same facts ; a point which becomes the more noticeable when we compare their narratives with that of St. John and bear in mind the immense crowd of facts and details which would equally well have served their purpose, *cf.* John xx. 30, xxi. 25.

### C. A more Detailed Examination of the Facts.

We may now pass to the consideration of certain details. If we take certain "blocks," as we may term them, in the Gospel narrative, we shall find that the various sections composing them follow one another in precisely the same order in all three Gospels, thus in the "block," Matt. xvi. 13-xviii. 5; Mark viii. 27-ix. 39; Luke ix. 18-50, we have the following sections:

1. Peter's confession; Matt. xvi. 13-20; Mark viii. 27-33; Luke ix. 18-21.
2. The preaching of the Cross; Matt. xvi. 21-28; Mark viii. 34-39; Luke ix. 22-27.
3. The Transfiguration; Matt. xvii. 1-13; Mark ix. 1-12; Luke ix. 28-36.
4. The cure of the "Lunatic" boy; Matt. xvii. 14-20; Mark ix. 13-28; Luke ix. 37-43.
5. The prediction of the Passion; Matt. xvii. 21-22; Mark ix. 29-31; Luke ix. 44-45.
6. The Stater; Matt. xvii. 23-26.
7. Lessons in humility; Matt. xviii. 1-5; Mark ix. 32-36; Luke x. 46-48.

It will be noticed that each section follows the other in precisely the same order in each Gospel, save that Matthew alone has the miraculous discovery of the stater. An examination of another "block," Mark i. 21-iii. 19, reveals some curious facts. Thus the whole of it appears in Luke iv. 31-vi. 16, where, however, we have in addition the story of the miraculous draught of fishes, v. 1-11. But in Matthew the sections composing this "block" are broken up and appear in quite a different order, with the exception of the three sections containing the cure of the palsied man, the call of Levi and the message to John. These three sections form a consecutive whole in Matt. ix. 2-17; Mark ii. 1-22; Luke v. 17-39. Yet in Matthew they are not in the same connexion as in Mark and Luke.

Minor similarities and dissimilarities will for the most part be sufficiently apparent in any English version, but the student will realize them most vividly in the Greek text. He will find that in passage after passage the Greek text of all three Gospels is almost verbatim the same. Thus let him compare, for example, Matt. xix. 19-20 with Mark vi. 41-42 and Luke ix. 16-17; or again, Matt. iii. 7-10, 12 with

Luke iii. 7-9; or once more, Matt. xx. 21-23 with Mark x. 37-40. An especially interesting study is afforded by the parable of the Sower with the explanation of it given by our Lord Himself, Matt. xiii. 4-12, 19-22; Mark iv. 3-12, 15-21; Luke viii. 5-15. Here it will be seen that the Greek of Matthew and Mark is almost exactly the same, so that a single verse of twenty words in Matt. xiii. 5 is represented by the same twenty words in Mark iv. 5, with but one change of number, where Mark has the singular, Matthew the plural. But when we examine the parallels in Luke we find that the number of words is appreciably less and the whole narrative is essentially abbreviated, so that one verse, viii. 5, presents in fourteen words what Matthew and Mark each took thirty-one words to express. Yet some of these words are the same, though construction and cases and number differ considerably. Moreover the story is the same. It differs in no essential particular.

We are so habituated to this particular feature of the Gospel narratives that perhaps we hardly realize what an extraordinary problem is here presented to us. For Matthew wrote in Aramaic; we have no idea who translated his Gospel into Greek. Mark wrote in Greek; he has the same order as Matthew and the same Greek. Yet he perpetually wanders away from both order and vocabulary, only, however, to return to the most remarkable similarity—if not identity—of expression. To complicate the problem, Luke, who wrote in Greek of a far more polished and literary type than that to be found in the *Second* and *First* Gospels, has in the main the same order as they and adheres substantially to the Greek found in Matthew and Mark, Luke merely changing the construction from time to time and presenting the phrases in a more truly Greek dress.

## D. Some Modern Solutions with the Difficulties besetting them.

Is it possible, then, to say that the translator of Matthew used the Greek Gospel of Mark which was already in existence, and that Luke had both before his eyes? This hypothesis is attractive, but it fails to solve

one riddle: if the Greek translator of Matthew used Mark, how comes it that he has allowed himself to leave the latter's Greek text so constantly, and in a countless series of minute details? Those who hold that Mark's was the first Gospel<sup>1</sup> and that even the original Matthew in Aramaic followed him, have to explain how it came about that Matthew has, so to speak, “bowdlerized” Mark's long and picturesque narratives, *e.g.* the story of the cure of the “lunatic” boy in Mark ix. 13-28, as compared with the same story in Matt. xvii. 14-20. If Matthew had Mark's story before him, then he must be declared guilty of a very anæmic rendering of what is a most vivid story in Mark. Similarly, those who hold that the Greek translator of Matthew—not Matthew in its original Aramaic dress—is dependent on Mark, must explain the pains the translator has apparently taken to vary Mark's Greek in small details whenever he could. An examination of the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves for five thousand men will bring out this remarkable feature of the two Gospels. We choose this miracle for examination because the first impression of a student who takes the pains to underline all the words which are common to Matthew, Mark, and Luke will be that the three accounts are almost identical; and he will be apt to jump to conclusions which a further examination will not justify. But if a student will examine this narrative more closely he will find that in passages parallel to Mark, Matthew has five times a synonymous and not an identical word; that he has no less than ten changes of construction; that he has, once at least, changed a tense; that twice he abbreviates the narrative; that he has a different context for the whole story; has, moreover, four clauses not to be found in Mark; has omitted twelve or thirteen clauses peculiar to Mark—and all this in the space of eleven verses! The same features present themselves when we pass to Luke's narrative. He has seven synonyms instead of the identical words used by Mark; twenty times he changes the construction; he has seven clauses of his own; there are eight transpositions; he omits the twelve or thirteen clauses which are peculiar to Mark and which of course are

<sup>1</sup> This is the prevailing theory; see *R.B.* October, 1909, p. 650, January, 1911.



omitted by Matthew as well ; and in addition to these he has nine smaller omissions. Similar facts will appear if we examine any passages which are parallel in the three Gospels. The similarity is so great as to be overwhelming at first sight ; the minute differences are so extraordinary that they compel us to repudiate a theory which suggests that any Evangelist had the text of another before him as he wrote. If any one would convince himself of this let him take a column from a newspaper and try to reproduce it in the same space ; but let him at the same time vary the construction perpetually, use synonymous rather than identical terms, add details of his own, omit many details given by the text before him—even the most strikingly picturesque ones ; let him, too, change the context whenever it suits him. And when he has done this let him do the same with the entire newspaper ; he will then have some idea of what is demanded of the Evangelists by many modern critics.

#### E. Lines along which the Problem may find its Solution.

But if we reject the views sketched above, what are we to put in their stead ? We need some hypothesis which shall cover equally *all* the factors in the case. Various theories have been put forward. It has been suggested that the similarities and dissimilarities may be explained by the hypothesis that the Evangelists were translating from a common Aramaic narrative. But why should they have so constantly lit upon the same Greek words ? And how came they to omit or add in such independent fashion ? Recourse has also been had to oral tradition. The sayings of Christ were, it has been supposed, retained in the exceptional memories of Eastern folk. But then it is not question solely of sayings of Christ but of His miracles, His journeyings, His daily life as well. The hypothesis which seems most calculated to cover all the factors in the case is that of an oral tradition partly in Greek, partly in Aramaic, and handed down not simply by word of mouth in unwritten form, but as part of the daily instruction in the essentials of the Gospel as taught by the Apostles. This may well have been the work of the catechists whose duty

it was to instruct the new converts. This hypothesis would, it is thought, go far to explain the stereotyped form in which the Gospel facts and the discourses of Christ have been preserved to us. It would also explain perhaps the divergences in the narratives; for each would preserve what he himself remembered, while adhering faithfully to the general plan.

Students should note that in treatises by modern writers there is a tendency—after having established the broad lines of agreement and divergence—to proceed immediately to an explanation of them by means of theories into which the minuter facts have to fit. A student will do well, then, to acquire a first-hand acquaintance with some of these minute details—*viz.* by working out for himself the instances given above or some similar ones. Only then will he be in a position to control theories which are at times too hastily put forward and much too easily accepted.

## F. Bibliography.

The most useful *Harmonies* are those published by Tischendorf, *Synopsis Evangelica*, 7th ed. Leipsic, 1898; by Huck, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, Tübingen, 4th ed., 1910; by Cammerlynck and Coppiters, *Evangeliorum sec. Matt. Marcum et Lucam*, 2nd ed. Bruges, 1910. But in no department of Biblical study can the personal spade-work of the student be dispensed with, and this is especially true of the Synoptic Problem. The labour of making one's own harmony of the Greek text will be amply repaid by the first-hand knowledge it produces. No one who wishes seriously to attack this problem can afford to despise St. Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, P.L. XXXIV. He is often accused of a tendency towards excessive harmonization, but whoever makes a careful study of his treatise will find that while insisting on the principle, *distingue tempora et omnia conciliabuntur*, he enunciates principles the breadth and far-reaching consequences of which can hardly be exaggerated, see, for example, *De Consensu* II. 27-29, 67, 121, and *Contra Faustum*, XXIII. 8; see an Article by the present writer in the *Catholic University Bulletin* (Washington) for October, 1912, *Principles of Gospel-Harmony*. Few books have exercised greater influence on modern writers than Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, Clarendon Press, 2nd ed. 1909; but the principles invoked must be carefully examined, they have been ruthlessly applied by Allen, *International Critical Commentary*, *St. Matthew*, 2nd ed. 1907, and they are taken for granted in the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. by Sanday, Clarendon Press, 1911. The most dispassionate and thorough treatment of the question will be found in

Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Vol. I., 1903, Vol. II., 1909, Cambridge University Press. A brief resumé of the present state of the question is given by Latimer Jackson, *The Present State of the Synoptic Problem*, in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, Macmillan, 1909.

For the *Logia Fragments* recently discovered see *R.B.* 1892, p. 321; October, 1904; also April and October, 1908. General articles and reviews on the subject will be found in *R.B.* 1892, 520-559 (Semeria); 1897, January and April (Ermoni); a discussion of the views held by Wright, January, 1897, October, 1900, October, 1904; for the views held by Jacquier, *Histoire des Livres du N.T.*, Lecoffre, see *R.B.* January, 1903, July, 1905. For a review of Loisy's position see *R.B.* October, 1908; for Hawkins' *Horæ*, April, 1910; for Allen's *St. Matthew*, July, 1907; for Stanton's *Gospels*, April, 1910; for the *Oxford Studies*, July, 1911; for general articles see July and October, 1889, July and October, 1898, April, 1901, October, 1907, July and October, 1911. For further discussions see *J.T.S.* July and October, 1910, the *Irish Theological Quarterly* for July, 1910—a review of Stanton's *Gospels*, and July, 1913; also the *Expositor* for May, 1911, June and October, 1915.

See also *The Composition of the Four Gospels*, A. Wright, 1890. *The Common Tradition of the Synoptic Gospels*, Abbott and Rushbrooke, 1884. *Criticism of the New Testament*, St. Margaret's Lectures, 1902, Murray. Fillion, *Synopsis Evangelica*, Paris, 1896, also, *Introduction Générale aux Évangiles*, Paris, 1896.

## CHAPTER XVII

### DECISIONS OF THE BIBLICAL COMMISSION

- A. The Gospel of St. Matthew.
  - B. The Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke.
  - C. The Synoptic Problem.
  - D. The Gospel of St. John.
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#### A. Of the Author, the Date of Composition, and the Historical Truth of the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

To the following Questions which have been proposed the Biblical Commission has decided to reply as follows:

I. Can we affirm with certainty that Matthew, the Apostle of Christ, was really the author of the Gospel that goes by his name: and this on the ground of the universal and constant agreement of the Church from the earliest times, an agreement which is clearly set forth in the express declarations of the *Fathers*, in the *Titles* of Manuscript Gospels, in the very oldest *Versions* of the Sacred Books, in the *Catalogues* drawn up by the Holy Fathers, by Ecclesiastical Writers, by Supreme Pontiffs, and by the Councils, and in the *Liturgical* use of the Eastern and Western Churches?

*Reply*: In the Affirmative.

II. Can it be held that there is sufficient basis in tradition for the opinion that Matthew wrote *before* the other Evangelists; also that he wrote this *First Gospel* in the native speech used by the Jews of Palestine at that time and to whom he addressed his work?

*Reply*: In the Affirmative to both points.

III. Can the publication of this original text be referred to a time subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem so that the prophecies which we read in it regarding that same destruction would have been written after the event? And again, is the oft-quoted testimony of Irenæus (*Adv. Hær.* III. cap. I. no. 2)—the interpretation of which is uncertain and a matter of controversy—to be considered of sufficient weight to compel us to reject the opinion of those who hold that it is more in accordance with tradition to say that its publication preceded even the arrival of St. Paul in the City of Rome?

*Reply* : In the Negative on both points.

IV. Can we regard as at all probable the opinion of some recent writers according to whom Matthew did not strictly and properly-speaking compose the Gospel as it has come down to us, but merely framed a species of collection of the sayings or discourses of Christ, which collection some other anonymous author—whom they term the redactor of the Gospel—made use of as his source?

*Reply* : In the Negative.

V. In view of the fact that the Fathers and all Ecclesiastical Writers, nay the Church Herself from Her very birth, use as Canonical solely the Greek text of the Gospel known as that of Matthew—those Fathers, be it noted, who expressly declare that Matthew wrote in his native tongue, forming no exception to this rule—can it be certainly proved that the Greek Gospel itself is substantially identical with that same Gospel which the Apostle composed in his native tongue?

*Reply* : In the Affirmative.

VI. In view of the fact that the author of the *First Gospel* has an especially dogmatic and apologetic aim—that namely of proving to the Jews that Jesus is the Messiah foretold by the Prophets and born of the stock of David; and that moreover in arranging the facts and discourses which he narrates he does not always follow the chronological order, is it allowable to argue that his facts are not to be regarded as true? And can it further be affirmed that the accounts

of Christ's deeds and sayings which we read in this Gospel have undergone certain alterations and adaptations under the influence of the Old Testament prophecies and of the more mature state at which the Church had arrived, and that in consequence they do not completely correspond with historical truth?

*Reply* : In the Negative on both points.

VII. Can we single out as especially destitute of solid foundation the views of those who call in question the authenticity of the first two chapters in which the genealogy and infancy of Christ are narrated, as also the authenticity of certain pronouncements which are of great moment from the point of view of dogma, *e.g.* those referring to the Primacy of Peter, xvi. 17-19, the formula for Baptism, together with the commission given to the Apostles of preaching the Gospel to the whole world, xxviii. 19-20, the Apostles' profession of faith in the Divinity of Christ, xiv. 33, and other similar things which are found emphatically stated in Matthew's Gospel?

*Reply* : In the Affirmative.

On June 19, in an audience graciously accorded to the two undersigned consultors, our Holy Father Pope Pius X. ratified the above-given Replies and ordered their publication.

ROME, *June* 19, 1911.

## **B. Of the Authorship, Date of Composition, and Historical Truth of the Gospels according to St. Mark and St. Luke.**

To the following questions which have been proposed, the Pontifical Biblical Commission has thought fit to reply as follows :

I. Does the clear voice of tradition—which from the earliest days of the Church is so wonderfully in agreement and which is confirmed by so many arguments, *e.g.* by the express testimonies of the *Holy Fathers* and Ecclesiastical Writers, by quotations and allusions occurring in their



writings, by the use made of them by the *heretics* of old, by the *Versions* of the Books of the New Testament, by *Manuscript* copies of the greatest antiquity found over nearly the whole world, by *internal* arguments, too, derived from the text itself of the Sacred Books—compel us to affirm with certainty that Mark the disciple and interpreter of Peter, and Luke the physician, the companion and assistant of Paul, were really the authors of the Gospels respectively attributed to them?

*Reply* : In the Affirmative.

II. Are the reasons whereby certain critics strive to show that the last twelve verses of the Gospel of Mark (Mark xvi. 9-20) were not written by Mark but added by another hand, of such force as to entitle us to affirm that these verses are not to be received as inspired and canonical? Do they at least show that Mark was not their author?

*Reply* : In the Negative to both questions.

III. In the same way : is it lawful to call in question the inspiration and canonicity of Luke's narrative touching the Infancy of Christ (Luke i. ii.), or of his account of the appearance of an Angel who strengthened Christ, or again of the Sweat of blood (Luke xxii. 43-44)? Can it be shown by any solid arguments that—as heretics of old held, and as some modern critics would like to think—these same narratives do not belong to the genuine Gospel of Luke?

*Reply* : In the Negative to both questions.

IV. Can those exceedingly rare and altogether isolated documents in which the Canticle of the *Magnificat* is attributed, not to the Blessed Virgin Mary, but to Elizabeth, be allowed any weight as against the consentient testimony of nearly all Manuscripts, whether of the original Greek text or of the Versions, as well as against the interpretation clearly demanded as well by the context as by the attitude of mind of the Blessed Virgin and the constant tradition of the Church?

*Reply* : In the Negative.

V. As concerns the chronological order of the Gospels: is it lawful to desert the view which, based upon the testimony of the most ancient and consistent of traditions, holds that after Matthew—who, first of them all, committed his Gospel to writing in his mother tongue—Mark wrote second, Luke third? And is it contrary to this view to maintain that the *Second* and *Third Gospels* were committed to writing before the Greek Version of the *First Gospel* was made?

*Reply:* In the Negative to both questions

VI. Is it lawful to refer the date of the composition of the Gospels of Mark and Luke to a period subsequent to the destruction of the city of Jerusalem? Or, can it be maintained that—on the ground that in Luke the Lord’s prophecy regarding the destruction of the city is very precise—at least this particular Gospel was written when the siege had begun?

*Reply:* In the Negative to both questions.

VII. Ought we to affirm that the *Gospel* of Luke preceded the *Book of the Acts of the Apostles* (Acts i. 1-2)? And further, that since this later Book was finished towards the close of the Apostle’s captivity at Rome (Acts xxviii. 30-31), Luke’s Gospel cannot have been composed at a later date than this?

*Reply:* In the affirmative.

VIII. Can we, having regard to the witness both of tradition and of internal arguments to the sources which the two Evangelists in question made use of, prudently call in question the view which holds that Mark wrote according to Peter’s preaching, Luke according to that of Paul; a view which also allows that these same Evangelists had at their disposal sources of information, whether oral or in writing, which were well worthy of credit?

*Reply:* In the Negative.

IX. Do the words and deeds which are accurately and even graphically narrated by Mark according to Peter’s preaching, and most carefully set down by Luke, *having*

*diligently attained to all things from the beginning* by means of witnesses deserving of full credit inasmuch as they *from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word* (Luke i. 2-3), rightly claim that historical credit which the Church has ever accorded them? Or, on the contrary, are the said words and deeds to be considered destitute, at least in part, of historical truth; and this either on the ground that the writers were not eye-witnesses; or that, in the case of both Evangelists, dislocations of the chronological order and discrepancies in the succession of events can be not unfrequently discovered; or, again, on the ground that since they came later on the scene and wrote later, they must necessarily set forth ideas alien to the mind of Christ and His Apostles, or narrate facts more or less distorted by the popular imagination; or, once more, on the ground that they have, each according to his natural bent, given free rein to dogmatic preconceptions?

*Reply*: In the Affirmative to the first question; in the Negative to the second.

### C. Of the Synoptic Question: or of the Mutual Relationship between the Three First Gospels.

To the following questions likewise the Pontifical Biblical Commission has thought fit to reply as follows:

I. Adhering, as we must, to the decisions just given, especially as regards the authenticity and integrity of the three Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, the substantial identity of the Greek Version of Matthew's Gospel with that Gospel in its primitive form, as also to the chronological order in which these Gospels were written, is it free to exegetes in search of explanations of the similarities and dissimilarities between these three Gospels to discuss and to make appeal to hypotheses regarding the way in which the Gospel was handed down, whether orally or in writing, or whether by dependence of one Evangelist upon his predecessor or predecessors?

*Reply*: In the Affirmative.

II. Can they be said to uphold the aforesaid pronouncements who, unsupported by any authority from tradition or

by any argument from history, readily embrace the hypothesis commonly known as the *Two Document* hypothesis in accordance with which they endeavour to explain the composition of the Greek Gospel of Matthew and that of Luke mainly by their dependence upon Mark and upon a so-called Collection of the Words of the Lord? And is it legitimate to defend this theory?

*Reply* : In the Negative to both questions.

In an audience graciously granted on June 26, 1912, to the two consultants, our Most Holy Lord, Pope Pius X. ratified the above pronouncements and ordered their publication.

ROME, June 26, 1912.

#### D. Of the Author, and of the Historical Truth, of the Fourth Gospel.

The Pontifical Biblical Commission has furnished the following replies to the questions given below :

I. Considering the constant, universal, and solemn tradition of the Church, a tradition going back to the second century and especially manifested in the testimonies of the *Holy Fathers*, of Ecclesiastical writers, nay even of *heretics*—testimonies and allusions which must have been derived from the disciples of the Apostles or their immediate successors and which are therefore closely connected with the origin of the book, a tradition manifested, too, in the constant and universal reception of the name of the author of the *Fourth Gospel* both in the *Canon* and in the *catalogues* of the Sacred Books, and manifested lastly in the public *liturgical* use prevailing throughout the Church from the first ages, can we, in view of these considerations, and abstracting from all theological arguments, hold that the authorship of the *Fourth Gospel* by John the Apostle and no other rests upon so solid an historical basis as not to be invalidated by the arguments alleged by critics who reject this tradition?

*Reply* : In the Affirmative.

II. Further, do the internal arguments which are deducible from the text of the *Fourth Gospel* considered

apart, as also those derived from the testimony of the writer himself and from the evident relationship existing between the same *Gospel* and the *First Epistle of John the Apostle*, serve as sufficient confirmation of the tradition which unhesitatingly assigns the *Fourth Gospel* to the same apostle?

And further, can the difficulties which appear when we compare the *Fourth Gospel* with the other three Gospels be reasonably solved—as indeed the Fathers and Catholic interpreters everywhere have endeavoured to do—by bearing in mind the differences of time and scope and also of the auditory for whom or against whom the author wrote?

*Reply* : In the Affirmative to both questions.

III. Can we, notwithstanding the practice of arguing from the *Fourth Gospel* as from a strictly historical document—a practice which has flourished in the universal Church from the earliest ages—notwithstanding, too, the peculiar character of this same Gospel and the manifest intention of the author to illustrate and vindicate the Divinity of Christ from His actual words and deeds, can we—in spite of all this—maintain that the facts narrated in the *Fourth Gospel* were, wholly or in part, fictitiously composed so that they might serve as allegories or doctrinal symbols, and that similarly the discourses assigned to our Lord were not really and truly His, but the theological compositions of the author—though put, indeed, into our Lord's mouth?

*Reply* : In the Negative.

On May 29, 1907, in an audience graciously conceded to the two consultants, the Holy Father ratified the above Replies and ordered their publication.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### A HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS

- A. The Infancy of Christ.
- B. The Early Ministry.
- C. The Close of the Galilean Ministry.
- D. The Peræan Ministry.
- E. John v. 1—xii. 8 and the Synoptic Narrative.
- F. The Closing Days.
  - i. The Day of Palms.
  - ii. The Prophecy of the "Last Things" and of the Fall of Jerusalem.
  - iii. The Opening Scenes of the Passion.
  - iv. The Trials and Examinations of Christ.
  - v. St. Peter's Denials.
  - vi. The Sacred Passion.
- G. The Resurrection Narratives.
- H. The Ascension.

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THE following "harmony" of the Gospel narrative is in no sense exhaustive though some portions have been treated with considerable detail. A simple horizontal line indicates a break in the narrative given by any individual Evangelist. A double line shows the close of a consistent "block" or section. We are thus enabled to see at a glance where one Evangelist suddenly breaks away from the others.



The various sections into which the "harmony" has been divided are rather convenient than logical: *A*, the Infancy of Christ. *B*, the early ministry. *C*, the definite closure of the Galilean ministry. *D*, the so-called Peræan ministry witnessed to by St. Luke. *E*, the parallels between John v. 1-xii. 8 and the Synoptic narrative. *F*, the Closing Days. *G*, the Resurrection narratives. *H*, the story of Christ's Ascension into heaven. Subdivisions have been adopted where convenient.

### A. The Infancy of Christ.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
The Divine Generation of Christ.				i. 1-18.
St. Luke's historical Prologue.			i. 1-4.	
Conception of the Baptist.			i. 5-25.	
Conception of Christ.			i. 26-38.	
St. Joseph's doubts.	i. 18-24.			
The Visit to Elizabeth.			i. 39-56.	
Birth of the Baptist.			i. 57-80.	
Birth of Christ.	i. 25.		ii. 1-20.	
Visit of the Magi. <sup>1</sup>	ii. 1-12.			
Flight into Egypt.	ii. 13-15.			
Massacre of the Innocents.	ii. 16-18.			
The return to Nazareth.	ii. 19-23.		( <i>cp.</i> ii. 39-42.) <sup>2</sup>	
The Circumcision.			ii. 21-38.	
Loss and recovery of the Child, return to Nazareth.			ii. 41-52.	

<sup>1</sup> It seems best to insert the visit of the Magi here; still the whole episode may well have taken place a year later in view of Herod's command that all male children "from two years old and under" were to be slain.

<sup>2</sup> This return to Nazareth mentioned by Luke is of course earlier than that given by Matthew inasmuch as it followed upon the circumcision which took place on the eighth day; the other was after the sojourn in Egypt.

## B. The Early Ministry.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
Introduction to the Public Ministry.		i. 1-3.		
The Baptist's ministry.	iii. 1-12.	i. 5-6.	iii. 1-18.	i. 19-36, and iii. 23-36.
Baptism of Christ.	iii. 13-17.	i. 9-11.	iii. 21-22.	<i>Cp.</i> i. 32-34.
Genealogy of Christ.	i. 1-17.		iii. 23-38.	
Temptation of Christ.	iv. 1-11.	i. 12-13.	iv. 1-13.	
Early Calls of disciples, apparently at the scene of Christ's baptism. <sup>1</sup>				i. 35-51.
Early ministry in Galilee, <sup>2</sup> <i>viz.</i> Cana and Capharnaum.				(i. 28 ) ii. 1-12.
First visit to Jerusalem for the Passover.				ii. 13— iii. 21.
Work in Judæa.				iii. 22-36.
In Samaria.				iv. 1-42.
In Galilee—at Cana.				iv. 43-54.
A general account of the opening.	iv. 12-17.	i. 14-15.	iv. 14-15.	
At Nazareth. <sup>3</sup>	(xiii. 54-58.)	(vi. 1-6.)	iv. 15-30.	

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
Call of Simon and Andrew and of the sons of Zebedee.	iv. 18-22.	i. 16-20.	( <i>cp.</i> v. 1-11.) <sup>4</sup>
At Capharnaum in the syna- gogues on the Sabbaths.	iv. 23-25.	i. 21-22.	iv. 31-32.

<sup>1</sup> These "calls" are clearly distinct from those given by the *Synoptists*.

<sup>2</sup> St. John here supplements the *Synoptic* narrative by showing us that Christ's public ministry opened with a series of brief visits to Cana of Galilee, to Capharnaum, Jerusalem, Judæa, Samaria and again to Cana.

<sup>3</sup> It is hardly probable that two visits to Nazareth with such very similar results took place. Luke places it at an early period, and in view of other transpositions made by Matthew it is probable that Luke's order is more historical.

<sup>4</sup> This is presumably the same episode as in Matthew and Mark, but it is remarkable that Luke alone should have given us this wealth of detail.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
The Sermon on the Mount. <sup>1</sup>	v—vii.		( <i>cp.</i> vi. 20-49.)
Heals a demoniac in the synagogue.		i. 23-28.	iv. 33-37.
Heals Peter's wife's mother.	viii. 14-15.	i. 29-32.	iv. 38-39.
At the same time He casts out many devils. <sup>2</sup>	viii. 16-17.	i. 33-34.	iv. 40-41.
He prays <sup>3</sup> and declares His mission.		i. 35-39.	iv. 42-44.
Heals a leper.	viii. 1-4.	i. 40-45.	v. 12-15.
Heals the centurion's servant. <sup>4</sup>	viii. 5-13.		( <i>cp.</i> vii. 1-10.)
Retires into the desert to pray.			v. 16.
Heals one sick of the palsy. <sup>5</sup>	ix. 1-8.	ii. 1-12.	v. 17-26.
Call of Levi.	ix. 9-13.	ii. 13-17.	v. 27-32.
The question about fasting, with the parables.	ix. 13-17.	ii. 18-22.	v. 33-39.
The "Second-first Sabbath." <sup>6</sup>	xii. 1-9.	ii. 23-28.	vi. 1-5.

<sup>1</sup> Whether this *Sermon* is to be identified with that given by Luke will always be a subject of dispute. If they are to be identified then we have a remarkable instance of the freedom with which the Evangelists used their material. It is probable that Matthew has here grouped together matter from our Lord's various discourses since much that is given here is to be paralleled from various parts of Luke, especially from ch. xii. It is to be noticed that Mark, while agreeing with Matthew in the events which preceded and followed the *Sermon on the Mount*, has no mention of this *Sermon*. It should further be noted that Mark i. 21-ii. 28 is absolutely parallel to Luke iv. 31-vi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew here anticipates the passage to the further side of the Sea of Galilee with the sayings about the "foxes" and "leave the dead to bury their dead," viii. 18-21, as well as the account of the storm at sea and the episode at Gerasa, viii. 23-34. On their return, ix. 1, Matthew gives the stories of the man healed of the palsy, of his own call, and of the questions about fasting, ix. 2-17, a section which is given in the same order, though in a different context, by Mark ii. 1-22, and Luke v. 17-39.

<sup>3</sup> The references to Christ's prayer are frequent in Luke, *cp.* v. 16, vi. 12.

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that we have the same episode in Luke vii. 1-10, though the circumstances are different.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>6</sup> Presumably about Pentecost; it may therefore be referred to some six or seven weeks after the Passover of John ii. 13; unless we are to regard John v. 1 as a Passover, in which case this Pentecost will be the second instead of the first in Christ's public ministry.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
The man with the withered hand.	xii. 10-13.	iii. 1-5.	vi. 6-10.
The conspiracy against Him by the	xii. 14. Pharisees	iii. 6. Pharisees and Herodians.	vi. 11. "they."
He retires.	xii. 15.	iii. 7.	
Multitudes come to Him.	xii. 15.	iii. 8-9.	
Many cures.	xii. 15-21.	iii. 20-12.	
He retires to a mountain.	v. 1.	iii. 13.	vi. 12.
He calls the Apostles.	x. 1.	iii. 14.	vi. 13.
Gives them power.	x. 1.	iii. 15.	(ix. 1.)
List of the XII. <sup>1</sup>	* x. 2-4.	iii. 16-19.	vi. 4-16.
Sermon on the Mount. <sup>2</sup>	v—vii.		(?) vi. 17-48.
Heals a leper.	viii. 1-4.	(i. 40-45.)	(v. 12-15.)
Heals the centurion's servant.	viii. 5-13.		vii. 1-10.
Raises the son of a widow at Naim.			vii. 11-17.
The Baptist's question.	xi. 2-15.		vii. 18-30.
Children in market-place.	xi. 16-19.		vii. 31-35.
The "sinner in the city."			vii. 36-50.
He is said to be mad!		iii. 20-21.	
He is accused of being in league with Beelzebub.	xii. 22-30.	iii. 22.	xi. 15-16.
(This is on occasion of His healing a deaf-mute.) His reply:	(xii. 22.)		.(xi 14.)
(a) Of the kingdom divided against itself.	xii. 25-30.	iii. 23-27.	
(b) Of the sin against the Holy Spirit.	xii. 31-32.	iii. 28-30.	xii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> *Cp.* also Acts i. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sermon on the Plain* as given in Luke may be an abbreviated form of the *Sermon on the Mount*. But if the student examines these tables he will find that the phrases of the *Sermon on the Mount* recur in many places in Luke. Of course there can be no doubt that our Lord repeated Himself often. But since Matthew prefers to group together the Parables, *e.g.* ch. xiii., and the miracles, *e.g.* chs. viii-ix., it is possible that what we know as the *Sermon on the Mount* is but a similar collection of doctrinal teachings of Christ.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
(c) A good tree bringeth forth good fruit.	xii. 33-37.		
They ask for a sign ; He gives them those of Jona and of the "Queen of the South."	xii. 38-42.		xi. 16, 29-32.
The parable of the <i>Unclean Spirit seeking rest.</i>	xii. 43-45.		xi. 24-26.
His mother and His brethren seek Him. <sup>1</sup>	xii. 46-50.	iii. 31-35	viii. 19-21.
Parable of the <i>Sower</i> and its explanation.	xiii. 1-23.	iv. 1-20.	viii. 4-15.
The <i>Tares</i> .	xiii. 24-30.		
The <i>Candle</i> . <sup>2</sup>	v. 15.	iv. 21.	viii. 16 ( <i>cp.</i> xi. 33).
Nothing shall be hidden.	x. 26.	iv. 22-23	viii. 17.
Take care how you hear.		iv. 24	viii. 18.
To him that hath shall be given.	xiii. 12 ( <i>cp.</i> xxv. 29).	iv. 25.	viii. 18 ( <i>cp.</i> xix. 26).
With what measure you meet . . .	vii. 2.	iv. 24	vi. 38.
The <i>Seed growing secretly</i> .		iv. 26-29	
The <i>Mustard seed</i> .	xiii. 31-32.	iv. 30-32	xiii. 18-19.
The <i>Leaven</i> .	xiii. 33.		xiii. 20-21.
All things in parables.	xiii. 34-35.	iv. 33-34	
He explained all privately.		iv. 34	
In the house He explains the <i>Tares</i> .	xiii. 36-43.		
The <i>Treasure</i> .	xiii. 44.		
The <i>Pearl</i> .	xiii. 45-46.		
The <i>Net</i> .	xiii. 47-50.		
The conclusion of the Parabolic teaching.	xiii. 51-52.		
He bids them cross the sea of Galilee. <sup>3</sup>	viii. 18.	iv. 35.	viii. 22.
The foxes have holes.	viii. 19-22.		ix. 58-62.

<sup>1</sup> Note the different context of this event in Matthew and Luke.

<sup>2</sup> Note how in this section Luke follows Mark's order and not that of Matthew.

<sup>3</sup> This is the great dislocation of the chronological order made by Matthew.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
He that putteth his hand to the plough.			ix. 63.
The storm at sea.	viii. 23-27.	iv. 36-40.	viii. 23-25.
The Demoniac at Gerasa.	viii. 28-34.	v. 1-20.	viii. 26-39.
The cure of the palsied man. <sup>1</sup>	ix. 1-8.	ii. 3-12.	v. 18-26.
The call of Levi.	ix. 9.	ii. 14.	v. 27-28.
His disciples and those of the Baptist.	ix. 10-17.	ii. 15-22.	v. 29-39.
He raises the daughter of Jairus and on the way heals the woman with an issue of blood.	ix. 18-26.	v. 21, 43.	viii. 40-56.
He heals two blind men.	ix. 27-31.		
He casts out a devil from a deaf-mute.	ix. 32-34.		
He makes a circuit in Galilee.	ix. 35-37.		
"The labourers are few."	ix. 38.		x. 2.
He visits Nazareth. <sup>2</sup>	xiii. 53-58.	vi. 1-6.	iv. 16-30.
The mission of the XII. <sup>3</sup>	x. 1-42.	vi. 7-18.	ix. 1-6.
The Baptist's message.	xi. 1-19.		vii. 18-35.
At the rumour of the wonders wrought by the disciples Herod fears lest the Baptist has risen.	xiv. 1-2.	vi. 14-16.	ix. 9.
The death of the Baptist.	xiv. 3-12.	vi. 17-29.	(cp. iii. 19-20.)
Christ pronounces woe upon the cities in which He had preached in vain.	xi. 20-24.		x. 13-16.
His prayer to His Father.	xi. 25-27.		
He invites all to come to Him.	xi. 28-30.		

<sup>1</sup> Note how this section is the same in all three Gospels; yet at the same time note how differently the story of the palsied man is presented in each.

<sup>2</sup> Note the different context in which this visit to Nazareth is placed by Luke.

<sup>3</sup> Much that is here said to the Twelve is given by Luke in the address made to the Seventy-two Disciples, *cf. infra*.



	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
He multiplies bread for 5000 men. <sup>1</sup>	xiv. 13-22.	vi. 30-45.	ix. 10-17 (John vi. 1 15).
He retires to a mountain to pray.	xiv. 23.	vi. 46.	(John vi. 15.)
He walks on the sea.	xiv. 24-27.	vi. 47-51.	(John vi. 16-21.)
Peter does the same.	xiv. 28-32.		
They adore Him.	xiv. 33.		
Their blindness of heart.		vi. 52.	
They come to Genesareth.	xiv. 34.	vi. 53.	
He heals many.	xiv. 35-36.	vi. 54-56.	
He and His disciples eat with unwashed hands; of the traditions of the Pharisees.	xv. 1-20.	vii. 1-23.	
He explains what it is that defiles a man.			
He heals the daughter of the Syrophenician.	xv. 21-28.		
In Decapolis he heals a deaf-mute.		vii. 31-37.	
In the mount he heals many.	xv. 29-31.		
He multiplies bread for 4000.	xv. 32-39.	viii. 1-9.	
He comes to Magedan.	xv. 39.	viii. 10 (Dalmanutha).	
He refuses a sign to the Pharisees.	xvi. 1-12.	viii. 11-21.	
At Bethsaida He heals a blind man.		viii. 22-26.	
At Cæsarea Philippi, the Confession of St. Peter.	xvi. 13-16.	viii. 27-30.	ix. 18-21 (cp. John vi. 68-70).
The Promise to St. Peter.	xvi. 17-20.		
First prediction of the Passion.	xvi. 21.	viii. 31.	ix. 22.
He rebukes Peter.	xvi. 22-23.	viii. 32-33.	
On carrying our cross.	xvi. 24-28.	viii. 34-39.	ix. 23-27.

<sup>1</sup> The second (or possibly the third) Passover. This is the only miracle recorded by all four Evangelists; the fact that John vi. 4 assigns it to the period of the Passover gives a fairly well fixed central point in the chronology of the public ministry.

At this point commences Luke's great omission. He passes over the events narrated in Mark vi. 46-viii. 26, Matt. xiv 22-xvi. 12.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
The Transfiguration.	xvii. 1-9.	ix. 1-9.	ix. 28-36.
The coming of Elias.	xvii. 10-13.	ix. 10-12.	
He cures the lunatic boy.	xvii. 14-20.	ix. 13-29.	ix. 37-44.
Second prediction of the Passion.	xvii. 21-22.	ix. 30-31.	ix. 44-45.
The miraculous finding of the stater.	xvii. 23-26.		
To teach humility He sets a child in their midst.	xviii. 1-5.	ix. 32-36.	ix. 46-48.
John has seen one casting out devils in Christ's Name.		ix. 37-39.	ix. 49-50.
The cup of cold water.	(x. 42.)	ix. 40.	
Woe to those who scandalize children.	xviii. 6-7.	ix. 41.	xvii. 1-2.
If hand or foot or eye scandalize thee . . .	xviii. 8-9 (cp. v. 30).	ix. 42-47.	
Every victim shall be salted with salt.		ix. 48.	
Salt that is savourless.	(v. 13.)	ix. 49.	xiv. 34.
The Guardian Angels always see the face of the Father.	xviii. 10.		
The Son of Man is come to save the lost.	xviii. 11.		xix. 10.
Parable of the <i>Hundred Sheep</i> .	xviii. 12-14.		xv. 4-7.
If thy brother offend . . . tell the Church. . . .	xviii. 15-17.		(cp. xvii. 3.)
The power of absolving.	xviii. 18 (cp. xvi. 19).		
Of prayer in common.	xviii. 18-20.		
On forgiving seventy times seven times.	xviii. 21-22.		(cp. xvii. 4.)
Parable of the <i>Unmerciful Servant</i> .	xviii. 23-35.		
<b>C. Close of the Galilean Ministry.</b>	xix. 1-2.	x. 1.	
Teaching on divorce.	xix. 3-12.	x. 2-9.	(xvi. 18.) <sup>1</sup>
He explains this teaching privately.		x. 10-12.	

<sup>1</sup> Note that only the conclusion of the discourse as given in Matthew and Mark is here stated by Luke. A comparison between Luke xvii. 2, "these little ones," and Matt. xix. 13; Mark x. 13, will be instructive.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
Little children are brought to Him.	xix. 13-15.	x. 13-16.	xviii. 15-17.
The rich young man.	xix. 16-22.	x. 17-22.	xviii. 15-17.
Teaching regarding riches.	xix. 23-26.	x. 23-27.	xviii. 24-27.
The hundredfold reward.	xix. 27-30.	x. 28-31.	xviii. 28-30.
Parable of the <i>Labourers in the Vineyard.</i>	xx. 1-16.		
The third prediction of the Passion.	xx. 17-19.	x. 32-34.	xviii. 31-34.
The request of the Sons of Zebedee. <sup>1</sup>	xx. 20-23.	x. 35-40.	
The indignation of the Ten.	xx. 24.	x. 41.	
Lessons in humility.	xx. 25-28.	x. 42-45.	
He heals a blind man. <sup>2</sup>	xx. 29-34.	x. 46-52.	xviii. 35-43.

#### D. The So-called "Peræan Section" in St. Luke's Gospel.

Whereas Matthew and Mark show us a definite close to the Galilean ministry, Matthew xix. 1, Mark x. 1, with an immediate ascent to Jerusalem for the final Passover of our Lord's life, Luke closes the Galilean ministry at ix. 51; thus his narrative here breaks off from those of Matthew and Mark, only rejoining them at xviii. 15 with the episodes of the little children and of the rich young man. As the section thus peculiar to Luke presents some striking features when compared with Matthew and Mark we present a comparative table between his narrative and those of Matthew and Mark.

<sup>1</sup> In Matt. xx. 21 it is the mother who puts the request; in Mark x. 35-37, it is the sons of Zebedee themselves who ask.

<sup>2</sup> In Matt. xx. 29, this cure is said to have taken place as *they went out from Jericho*; in Mark x. 46, as *they came to Jericho*, so also Luke xviii. 35. Moreover Matthew mentions *two blind men*, Mark and Luke only mention *one*, and Mark names him, Bartimæus.

	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>
The Samaritans reject Him.	ix. 51-53.		
James and John desire to call fire from heaven.	ix. 54-55.		
The Son of Man has come to seek that which is lost.	ix. 56 ( <i>cf.</i> John iii. 17; and xii. 47).	xviii. 11.	
The foxes have holes. . . .	ix. 57-58.	viii. 20.	
He that putteth his hand to the plough.	ix. 61-62.		
The Mission of the LXXII.	x. 1-16.		
He sends them two and two.	x. 1.		vi. 7.
The harvest is great.	x. 2.	ix. 37.	
They are to be like sheep among wolves.	x. 3.	x. 16.	
They may not carry a wallet. . . .	x. 4.	x. 10.	vi. 8. <sup>1</sup>
The hireling.	x. 7.	x. 10.	
Wo to Corozain, etc.	x. 16.	xi. 21.	
He that heareth you. . . .	x. 13.	x. 40.	
The return of the Seventy-two.	x. 17-20.		
His prayer: I confess . . .	x. 21-22.	xi. 25-27.	
Many have desired to see these things. . . .	x. 23-24.	xiii. 16.	
The lawyer's question: What must I do to possess eternal life?	x. 25-29.	xxii. 35-40.	xii. 28-34.
Parable of the <i>Good Samaritan</i> .	x. 30-37.		
Mary and Martha receive Him.	x. 38-42.		
He teaches the <i>Lord's Prayer</i> .	xi. 1-4.	vi. 9-11.	
Parable of the <i>Importunate Friend</i> .	xi. 5-8.		
"Seek and ye shall find . . ."	xi. 9.	vii. 7, xxi. 22.	xi. 24.
"A stone for a loaf," "a serpent for a fish."	xi. 11.	vii. 9.	
"A scorpion for an egg."	xi. 12.		
"So your Father will give you good gifts."	xi. 13.	vii. 11.	
He casts out a dumb spirit.	xi. 14.	ix. 32, xii. 22.	

<sup>1</sup> Note Mark's addition: *but a staff only*.

	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>
He is accused of doing so by the power of Beelzebub.	xi. 15-16.	ix. 34 ; xii. 24.	iii. 22.
The discourse on a "house divided against itself."	xi. 17-23.	xii. 25-30.	iii. 23-27.
The sin against the Holy Spirit.	(xii. 10.)	xii. 31-32.	iii. 28-30.
The unclean spirit that goeth out of a man. . . .	xi. 24-26.	xii. 43-45.	
Blessed the womb that bore Thee. . . .	xi. 27-28.		
They ask a sign.	xi. 16-29.	xii. 39.	
The sign of Jonas. . . .	xi. 29-30.	xii. 39-40.	
The Queen of the South. . . .	xi. 31.	xii. 42.	
The repentance of the Ninivites.	xi. 32.	xii. 41.	
Parable of the <i>Candle</i> .	xi. 33 ( <i>cp.</i> viii. 16).	v. 15.	iv. 21.
The light of the eye.	xi. 34-36.	vi. 22.	
He dines with a Pharisee.	xi. 37.		
He rebukes their criticism that He was not washed before meat.	xi. 38-40.	( <i>cp.</i> xxiii. 25.)	
Let them learn to give alms.	xi. 41.		
The absurd tithes of the Pharisees.	xi. 42.	xxiii. 23.	
Their love of the chief seats.	xi. 43.	xxiii. 6.	
They are whitened sepulchres.	xi. 44.	xxiii. 27-28.	
Wo to the lawyers who burden men.	xi. 46.		
. . . who build the tombs of the Prophets. . . .	xi. 47-48.	xxiii. 29-33.	
The Wisdom of God said : I will send them Prophets . . . to demand the blood of the Prophets, from the blood of Abel to that of Zacharias.	xi. 49-51.	xxiii. 34-35.	
The lament over Jerusalem.	xiii. 34-35.	xxiii. 37-39.	
Wo to the lawyers who have taken away the key of knowledge.	xi. 52.		
The Pharisees oppress Him vehemently.	xi. 53-54.		

	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>
The multitude throng Him.	xii. 1.		
Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.	xii. 1.	xvi. 6.	viii. 15.
Nothing hidden that shall not be revealed.	xii. 2 ( <i>c.</i> viii. 17).	x. 26.	iv. 22.
It shall be preached from the housetops.	xii. 3.	x. 27.	
Fear not them that kill the body. . . .	xii. 4-5.	x. 28.	
Ye are worth many sparrows . . . and the hairs of your heads are numbered.	xii. 6-7.	x. 29-30.	
Blessed he that confesses Me . . . Wo to him that denies Me. . . .	xii. 8-9.	x. 32-33.	
The sin against the Holy Spirit.	xii. 10.	xii. 32.	iii. 29.
When brought before princes the Holy Spirit will show you what to say.	xii. 11-12.		
A certain man asks Him to make his brother divide the inheritance.	xii. 13-15.		
The Parable of the <i>Rich Fool</i> .	xii. 16-21.		
Be not solicitous for food or raiment.	xii. 22-23.	vi. 25-26.	
God feedeth the ravens.	xii. 24.	vi. 27.	
We cannot add to our stature.	xii. 25-26.	vi. 28.	
The lilies are more gloriously clad than Solomon himself.	xii. 27-28.	vi. 28-30.	
Be not solicitous for food or drink.	xii. 29.	vi. 31.	
Be not lifted up on high. . . .	xii. 29.		
All these things the nations seek. . . .	xii. 30.	vi. 32.	
Seek first the justice of God. . . .	xii. 31.	vi. 33.	
Fear not little flock !	xii. 32.		
Sell what ye have. . . .	xii. 33.		
And ye shall have a treasure in heaven.	xii. 33-34.	vi. 20 ( <i>cp.</i> xix. 21).	
Be your loins girt. . . .	xii. 35-36.		
Blessed he whom the Lord shall find watching . . . He will gird Himself. . . .	xii. 37.		



	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>
Be ready even if He come in the second or third watch.	xii. 38.		
He shall come as a thief in the night.	xii. 39-40.	xxiv. 43-44.	
Peter asks whether this parable is for all. . . .	xii. 41.		
The picture of the faithful and the unfaithful servant. . . .	xii. 42-46.	xxiv. 45-51.	
Similarly of the servant who errs through ignorance, and of him who knew well what he was doing.	xii. 47-48.		
Christ has come to cast fire on the earth.	xii. 49.		
Christ has a baptism wherewith He is to be baptized. . . .	xii. 50.		
He has come to send not peace but the sword and division. . . .	xii. 51-53.	x. 34-35.	
The signs of the weather.	xii. 54-57.	xvi. 2-3.	
Be at peace with thine adversary. . . .	xii. 58-59.	v. 25-26.	
The Galileans whom Pilate slew . . . the men of Siloe on whom the tower fell.	xiii. 1-5.		
Parable of the <i>Barren Fig-tree</i> .	xiii. 6-9.		
The woman with the spirit of infirmity.	xiii. 10-17.		
Parable of the grain of <i>Mustard-seed</i> .	xiii. 18-19.	xiii. 31-32.	iv. 31.
Parable of the <i>Leaven</i> .	xiii. 20-21.	xiii. 33.	
A circuit of preaching on His way to Jerusalem.	xiii. 22.		
Are they few that are saved?	xiii. 23.		
Strive to enter by the narrow gate.	xiii. 24.	vii. 13.	
They will knock too late and will be rejected.	xiii. 25-26.	(cp. xxv. 10.)	
They will hear "Depart from Me!"	xiii. 27.	(cp. xxv. 41.)	
Then shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.	xiii. 28.	(cp. xxv. 30 ; and viii. 12 ; xiii. 42-50 ; xxii. 13 ; xxiv. 51.)	

	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>
Men shall come from the East and the West.	xiii. 29.	viii. 11.	
The first shall be last. . . .	xiii. 30.	xix. 30 ; xx. 16.	
His words to Herod Antipas. . .	xiii. 31-33.		
His lament over Jerusalem.	xiii. 34-35.	xxiii. 37-39.	
He heals a dropsical man on the Sabbath.	xiv. 1-4.		
They will rescue an ox or an ass on the Sabbath. . . .	xiv. 5-6 ( <i>cp.</i> xiii. 15).		
Parable of those who seek the <i>First Seats</i> .	xiv. 7-11.		
He that humbleth himself shall be exalted.	xiv. 11 ( <i>cp.</i> xxiii. 14).	xxiii. 12.	
They must invite the poor to their banquets.	xiv. 12-14.		
Parable of the <i>Great Supper</i> .	xiv. 15-24.	( <i>cp.</i> xxii. 1-14.)	
We must leave father and mother and take up our cross.	xiv. 25-27.	x. 37-38 ( <i>cp.</i> xvi. 24).	
Parable of a man who built a <i>Tower</i> .	xiv. 28-30.		
Parable of the <i>King</i> who would go out to war.	xiv. 31-32.		
So we must count the cost.	xiv. 33.		
The savourless salt.	xiv. 34-35.	v. 13.	ix. 49.
He eats with publicans and sinners.	xv. 1-2.		
Parable of the <i>Hundred Sheep</i> .	xv. 3-7.	xviii. 12-13.	
Parable of the <i>Ten Groats</i> .	xv. 8-10.		
Parable of the <i>Prodigal Son</i> .	xv. 11-32.		
Parable of the <i>Unjust Steward</i> .	xvi. 1-12.		
No man can serve two masters.	xvi. 13.	vi. 4.	
The Pharisees deride Him but are reproved.	xvi. 14-15.		
The Law is till John.	xvi. 16.	( <i>cp.</i> xi. 13.)	
The Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence.	xvi. 16.	xi. 12.	
Heaven and earth shall pass away but not the Law.	xvi. 17.	v. 18.	
Divorce is illegal.	xvi. 18.	v. 32 ; xix. 3-11.	x. 2-13.
Parable of <i>Dives and Lazarus</i> .	xvi. 19-31.		

	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>
Scandals must needs come . . . wo to him who scandalizes one of these little ones.	xvii. 1-2.	xviii. 6-11.	ix. 41.
They must be ready to forgive seven times a day.	xvii. 3-4.	xviii. 15.	
The Apostles ask for an increase of faith.	xvii. 5.		
If they had faith like a grain of mustard-seed they should transplant trees.	xvii. 6.	xvii. 19.	
The Parable of the servant ploughing.	xvii. 7-10.		
He passes between Samaria and Judæa.	xvii. 11.		
He heals ten lepers.	xvii. 12-19.		
Of the Coming of His King- dom.	xvii. 20-35 (xix. 11).		
(a) They will say: See here, etc.	xvii. 23.	xxiv. 23, 26	
(b) He will come as the lightning.	xvii. 24.	xxiv. 27.	
(c) He foretells His Passion.	xvii. 25.		
(d) As in the days of Noe. . . .	xvii. 26-27.	xxiv. 37-39.	
(e) As in the days of Lot. . . .	xvii. 28-29.		
(f) They on the housetop must not come down.	xvii. 30-31.	xxiv. 17.	
(g) Remember Lot's wife.	xvii. 32.		
(h) He that seeks to save his life shall lose it.	xvii. 33 (ix. 24).	x. 39.	viii. 35 John xii. 25).
(i) Two men in one bed. . . .	xvii. 34.		
(j) Two women at the mill.	xvii. 35.	xxiv. 41.	
(k) Two men in the field. . . .	xvii. 36.	xxiv. 40	
(l) The eagles gather to the carcase.	xvii. 36-37.	xxiv. 28	
The Parable of the <i>Unjust Judge</i> .	xviii. 1-8.		
The Parable of the <i>Pharisee and the Publican</i> .	xviii. 9-14.		
"He that exalteth himself shall be humbled."	xviii. 14 (xiv. 11).	xxiii. 12.	

	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>
Little children are brought to Him. <sup>1</sup>	xviii. 15-17.	xix. 13-15.	x. 13-16.
The rich young man and lessons on riches.	xviii. 18-27.	xix. 16-26.	x. 17-27.
Peter says: Behold we have left all. . . . The promise of a hundredfold.	xviii. 28-30.	xix. 27-30.	x. 28-31.
He foretells His Passion.	xviii. 31-34.	xx. 17-19.	x. 32-34.
He heals a blind man as they draw nigh to Jericho. <sup>2</sup>	xviii. 35-43.	xx. 29-34.	x. 46-52.
At Jericho He converts Zachæus.	xix. 1-10.		
As they are nigh Jerusalem and they expect the Coming of the Kingdom, He sets forth the <i>Parable of the Pounds</i> . <sup>3</sup>	xix. 11-27.		

### E. John v. 1—xii. 8 and the Parallel Synoptic Narrative.

	<i>John.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
He goes up to Jerusalem for an unnamed Festival. <sup>4</sup>	v. 1.			

<sup>1</sup> See above for this section which continues till He arrives at Jericho.

<sup>2</sup> See note on this miracle above.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confounded with the *Parable of the Talents*.

<sup>4</sup> St. John does not tell us which Feast this was. His vagueness seems to make it clear that it was *not* the Passover, though some MSS. have the definite article "*the Feast*" as though implying that it was the Passover. A rough division of St. John's Gospel according to the Feasts would be: (a) i.-iv. Up to and shortly after the first Passover, ii. 13. (b) v. An unnamed Feast. (c) vi. The Passover, presumably the second during Christ's public ministry. (d) vii.-ix. The Feast of *Tabernacles* in September. (e) x. The Feast of the *Dedication*, x. 22. November-December, i.e. 25th Casleu. (f) xi-xxi. The Third and last Passover.

	<i>John.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
There He heals the paralytic who lay at the Pool of Probatica.	v. 2-15.			
He is persecuted for healing on the Sabbath ; and for making Himself equal with God. His discourse on His relation to His Father Who has given Him power to judge men.	v. 16-30.			
Of the witnesses to Himself :	v. 31-47.			
(a) The Baptist.	v. 33-35.			
(b) His own works.	v. 36.			
(c) His Father.	v. 37-38.			
(d) Holy Scripture.	v. 39.			
(Reasons why they reject Him.)	v. 40-44.			
(e) Moses bears witness to Him in his writings.	v. 45-47.			
At the season of the Passover He crosses to the East of the Sea of Galilee.	vi. 1-3.			
He multiplies bread for 5000 men.	vi. 4-15.	xiv. 13-22.	vi. 32-44.	ix. 10-17.
He walks on the sea.	vi. 16-21.	xiv. 22-33.	vi. 45-53.	
The discourse on the Holy Eucharist at Capharnaum.	vi. 22-66.			
Peter's confession ; the prediction of Judas' betrayal.	vi. 67-72.	xvi. 16.		
He comes from Galilee for the Feast of Tabernacles. <sup>1</sup>	vii. 1-14.			
Discourse on the true nature of His doctrine.	vii. 15-24.			

<sup>1</sup> In September, thus there is a gap of about five months between chs. vi. and vii.

	<i>John.</i>	<i>Matt hew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
Discussion amongst the Jews.	vii. 25-27.			
Discourse on His true nature.	vii. 28-39.			
Discussion amongst the Jews.	vii. 40-43.			
The Pharisees decide to arrest Him; Nicodemus' retort.	vii. 44-53.			
On Mount Olives, the woman taken in adultery. <sup>1</sup>	viii. 1-11.			
Discourse on His true nature as the Light of the world.	viii. 12-58.			
They endeavour to stone Him.	viii. 59.			
In Jerusalem He heals the man born blind.	ix. 1-41.			
The Feast of the Dedication, in winter; <sup>2</sup> discourse on Himself as the Good Shepherd.	x. 1-18.			
Discussion among the Jews.	x. 19-24.			
Discourse on His Oneness with His Father.	x. 25-38.			
They try to stone Him but He retires beyond Jordan.	x. 39; 42.			
He comes thence to raise Lazarus.	xi. 1-44.			
Many believe in Him and the Pharisees take counsel to arrest him; Caiaphas' declaration.	xi. 45-53.			

<sup>1</sup> See *Introduction to St. John's Gospel*, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> This feast occurred on 25th Casleu, *i.e.* November-December, consequently two months are passed over between chs. vii. and x. It is worth noting how chs. ix.-xi. are unified, thus x. 26-27 implies the discourse in x. 1-18; while x. 21 and xi. 37 refer back to ch. ix.



	<i>John.</i>	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
But he retires to Ephrem.	xi. 54-56.			.
The Priests plot His death.	xi. 56.	xxvi. 1-5.	xiv. 1-2.	xxii. 1-6.
Six days <sup>1</sup> before the Passover a supper is made for Him in the house of Lazarus ; Mary anoints Him.	xii. 1-8.	xxvi. 6-11.	xiv. 3-9.	

## F. The Closing Days.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
<b>I. The Day of Palms, and after.</b>	xxi-xxv.	xi-xiii.	xix-xxi.	xii. 12-50.
i. (a) When at the Mount of Olives He sends for an ass' colt which is brought. <sup>2</sup>	xxi. 1-7.	xi. 1-7a.	xix. 29-34.	xii. 14-15.
(b) He weeps over the city.			xix. 41-44.	
(c) His triumphal entry into the city.	xxi. 8-11.	xi. 7b-11.	xix. 35-38.	
(d) The crowd comes to see Lazarus.				xii. 9-11, 17-18.
(e) His answer to those who bade Him rebuke His disciples. <sup>3</sup>			xix. 39-40.	
(f) He retires to Bethany. <sup>4</sup>	xxi. 17.	xi. 11.		

<sup>1</sup> Matthew and Mark assign the actual supper to "two days before the Passover"; John may merely mean that He came to Bethany six days before, not that the supper took place six days before.

<sup>2</sup> St. Mark's insistence on the singular, "the colt," not "the ass and her colt," is remarkable; note too his additional clause at the end of ver. 3.

<sup>3</sup> St. Luke may be condensing the narrative here.

<sup>4</sup> St. Mark's precision in this portion of his narrative is most remarkable, he is at pains to differentiate the various visits, cf. vers. 11, 12, 15, 19, 20, 27, and *cp.* John i. 29, 35, 43, ii. 1.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
(g) Next morning He comes from Bethany.	xxi. 18.	xi. 12.		
(h) He curses the barren fig-tree.	xxi. 19.	xi. 12-14.		
(i) He drives out the buyers and sellers from the temple. <sup>1</sup>	xxi. 12-13.	xi. 15-18.		
(j) He heals many in the temple.	xxi. 14.			
(k) His rebuke to them that resent the acclamations of the children. <sup>2</sup>	xxi. 15-16.		(cp. xix. 39-40.)	
(l) On quitting the city they find the fig-tree withered away. <sup>3</sup>	xxi. 19.	xi. 19-21.		
(m) On faith that removes mountains.	xxi. 20-21.	xi. 22-23.		
(n) Of faith in prayer.	xxi. 22.	xi. 24-25.		
(o) Of forgiveness.		xi. 26.		
(p) He comes again to the temple.		xi. 27.	xix. 47-48.	
(q) The Scribes ask by what authority He acts. He asks them of the Baptism of John.	xxi. 23-27.	xi. 27-33.	xx. 1-8.	
(r) And sets forth the parable of the <i>Two Sons</i> illustrative of their rejection of John's preaching.	xxi. 28-32.			
(s) The parable of the <i>Vineyard and the Husbandmen</i> .	xxi. 33-45.	xii. 1-11.	xx. 9-19.	
(t) They seek to lay hands on Him.	xxi. 46.	xii. 12.	xx. 20.	(cp. xii. 19.)
(u) Parable of the <i>Marriage Feast</i> .	xxii. 1-14.			
(v) The Pharisees and the Herodians ask Him about paying tribute to Cæsar.	xxii. 15-22.	xii. 13-17.	xx. 21-26 (spies).	

<sup>1</sup>Cp.

John ii. 13-22.

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, p. 337.<sup>3</sup> See note 3, p. 337.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
(w) The Sadducees question Him about the resurrection of the body.	xxii. 23-33.	xii. 18-27.	xx. 27-40.	
(x) The Scribes ( <i>Pharisees</i> , Matthew) ask which is the greatest commandment.	xxii. 34-40.	xii. 28-34.	( <i>cf.</i> xx. 39.)	
(y) None dare ask Him any more questions.	xxii. 46.	xii. 34.	xx. 40.	
(z) He asks them: What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He?	xxii. 41-46.	xii. 35-37.	xxi. 41-44.	
ii. He pronounces woes against the Pharisees and Scribes.	xxiii. 1-36.			
(a) They have sat in the chair of Moses and therefore are to be heard.	xxiii. 1-3.			
(b) They bind insupportable burdens; and enlarge their Phylacteries.	xxiii. 4.		xi. 46.	
(c) They seek the first places, etc.	xxiii. 5. xxiii. 6.	xii. 39.	xi. 43; xx. 46.	
(d) Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be humbled.	xxiii. 12.		xiv. 11; xviii. 14.	
(e) They have shut the kingdom of heaven.	xxiii. 13.		xi. 52.	
(f) They devour the houses of widows.	xxiii. 14.	xii. 40.	xx. 47.	
(g) They corrupt the proselytes they make.	xxiii. 15.			
(h) Their idle swearing.	xxiii. 16-22; v. 3.			
(i) Their vain tithes.	xxiii. 23-24.		xi. 42.	
(j) Their vain purifications.	xxiii. 25-26.		xi. 39.	
(k) They are whited sepulchres.	xxiii. 27-28.		xi. 14.	

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
(l) They slay the prophets yet they build their sepulchres.	xxiii. 29-32.		xi. 47-48.	
(m) The blood of these prophets shall be demanded of them.	xxiii. 33-36.		xi. 49-51.	
The widow's mite.		xii. 41-44.	xxi. 1-4.	
He laments over Jerusalem.	xxiii. 37-39.		xiii. 34-35 (cp. xix. 41-44).	
He teaches daily in the temple.			xix. 47-48.	
The Greeks come to Him; His discourse on the grain of wheat; the voice from heaven.				xii. 20-30.
Discourse on the judgment and on the rejection of light.				xii. 31-36a.
He withdraws; the Evangelist's comment on their failure to believe.				xii. 36b-43.
Discourse on: <i>I am the Light of the world.</i>				xii. 44-50.

## II. Christ foretells the Fall of Jerusalem and the Last Things.<sup>1</sup>

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
On coming out of the temple He foretells that not a stone of it shall be left standing on a stone.	xxiv. 1-2.	xiii. 1-2.	xxi. 5-6.

<sup>1</sup> The signs that should precede the fall of the Holy City were figurative of those which should precede the Final Coming of the Son of Man and the Last Judgment; hence these two events, as the type and the anti-type, are purposely not distinguished from one another in these prophecies.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
On Mount Olivet they ask Him when these things shall be.	xxiv. 3.	xiii. 3-4.	xxi. 7 (Mount Olivet not mentioned). xxi. 8.
There shall first come false Christs.	xxiv. 4-5.	xiii. 5-6.	
Also wars and rumours of wars.	xxiv. 6-7.	xiii. 7-8.	xxi. 9-11.
They shall suffer persecution.	xxiv. 8-10.	xiii. 9.	xxi. 12-13.
False Prophets shall arise.	xxiv. 11.		
Charity shall grow cold.	xxiv. 12.		
He that shall persevere to the end shall be saved.	xxiv. 13.	xiii. 13.	
The Gospel must first be preached to every creature.	xxiv. 14.		
The Holy Spirit will then give them what to say.		xiii. 11.	xxi. 14-15 ( <i>Christ</i> will give them).
Members of the same house shall persecute one another.		xiii. 12.	xxi. 16-17.
Not a hair of their heads shall perish.			xxi. 18.
In their patience they shall possess their souls.			xxi. 19.
When they see the "Abomination of Desolation" in the Holy Place let them prepare.	xxiv. 15.	xiii. 14.	xxi. 20 (Jerusalem encompassed with an army).
Then let them flee to the mountains.	xxiv. 16.	xiii. 14.	xxi. 21.
For these are the days of vengeance.			xxi. 22.
He that is on the house-top let him not come down.	xxiv. 17.	xiii. 15.	(xvii. 30-31.)
Nor he that is in the field let him go to fetch his coat.	xxiv. 18.	xiii. 16.	( <i>cp.</i> xxi. 21.)
Wo to them that are with child then.	xxiv. 19.	xiii. 17.	xxi. 23.
Jerusalem shall be trodden down.			xxi. 24.
Pray that it may not take place in winter.	xxiv. 20.	xiii. 18.	
Nor on the Sabbath.	xxiv. 20.		
These days of tribulation shall be shortened for the sake of the elect.	xxiv. 21-22.	xiii. 19-20.	
There shall be false Christs.	xxiv. 23-28.	xiii. 21-23.	

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>
There shall be an eclipse and then the Son of Man shall appear.	xxiv. 29-31.	xiii. 24-27.	xxi. 25-27 (xvii. 20-25).
Then let them lift up their heads for their redemption is at hand.			xxi. 28.
As the fig-tree shows by its shoots that summer is nigh so shall these signs show His Coming.	xxiv. 32-33.	xiii. 28-29.	xxi. 29-31.
This generation shall not pass till these things come to pass.	xxiv. 34.	xiii. 30.	xxi. 32.
Heaven and earth shall pass but not His word.	xxiv. 35 (v. 18).	xiii. 31.	xxi. 33 (xvi. 17).
Let them not be drunk nor surfeit.			xxi. 34-35.
Only the Father knows when these things shall come to pass.	xxiv. 36.	xiii. 32 ("nor the Son").	
It shall be as it was in the days of Noe. . . .	xxiv. 37-39.		(xvii. 26-27.)
Two shall be in the field. . . .	xxiv. 40.		(xvii. 36.)
Two at the mill. . . .	xxiv. 41.		(xvii. 35.)
Therefore let them watch.	xxiv. 42-44.	xiii. 337.	xxi. 36.
The Parable of the <i>Watchful Servant</i> .	xxiv. 45-51.	xiii. 34-3.	
He taught daily in the temple and on Mount Olivet.			xxi. 37-38.
The Parable of the <i>Ten Virgins</i> .	xxv. 1-12.		
Therefore let them watch.	xxv. 13.		
The Parable of the <i>Ten Talents</i> .	xxv. 14-30.		
The Last Judgement.	xxv. 31-46.		

### III. The Opening Scenes of the Passion.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
The Priests plot His death.	xxvi. 1-5.	xiv. 1-2.	xxii. 1-6.	xi. 56.
The Supper at Bethany.	xxvi. 6-13.	xiv. 3-9.		xii. 1-11.
Judas arranges His betrayal.	xxvi. 14-16.	xiv. 10-11.	xxii. 2-6.	
The preparation for the Passover. <sup>1</sup>	xxvi. 17-19.	xiv. 12-16.	xxii. 7-13.	

<sup>1</sup> Note the fulness of Mark's detail; it is the personal touch of Peter.



	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
The Last Supper.	xxvi. 20.	xiv. 17.	xxii. 14-16.	
The Institution of the Holy Eucharist.				
(a) The cup. <sup>1</sup>			xxii. 17-18.	
(b) The Bread.	xxvi. 26.	xiv. 22.	xxii. 19.	
(c) The second Cup.	xxvi. 27-29.	xiv. 23-25.	xxii. 20.	
He declares that one of them is about to betray Him. <sup>2</sup>	xxvi. 21-25.	xiv. 18-21.	xxii. 21-23.	xiii. 21-30.
The dispute as to which of them shall be the greater. <sup>3</sup>			xxii. 24.	
After the supper He washes their feet and makes them a discourse on humility.				xiii. 1-12 ;
			xxii. 25-30.	xiii. 13-20.
They go out to Mount Olivet ; <sup>4</sup> "after reciting a hymn" Matthew and Mark.	xxvi. 30.	xiv. 26.	xxii. 39.	xiv. 31 ; xviii. 1.
The promise to Peter that his faith shall not fail. <sup>5</sup>			xxii. 31-32.	
Peter's protest and the announcement that he will deny Him.	xxvi. 31-35.	xiv. 27-31.	xxii. 33-34.	xiii. 37-38.
The need of prudence ; the "two swords."			xxii. 35-38.	

<sup>1</sup> Only Luke gives this "cup" previous to the breaking of the bread; the same feature appears in the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Apostles*.

<sup>2</sup> This announcement of the betrayal precedes the Institution of the Holy Eucharist in Matthew and Mark.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note how John has given us here another aspect of the same incident. This is instructive as showing the freedom with which the Evangelists treated their material.

<sup>4</sup> From John xiv. 31 it is clear that a large portion of these last discourses was delivered on the road to Gethsemane after quitting the supper-room.

<sup>5</sup> The promise to Peter, his protestations and the announcement that he will deny Christ precede the departure from the supper-room in Luke.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
The discourse on His departure.				xiv. 1-4.
Thomas' question; the answer.				xiv. 5-7.
Philip's question; the answer.				xiv. 8-15.
The promise of the Paraclete.				xiv. 16-17.
He promises to return.				xiv. 18-21.
Jude's question; the reply.				xiv. 22-25.
Once more of the Paraclete.				xiv. 26.
He is returning to His Father.				xiv. 27-31.
They leave the supper-room.				xiv. 31.
He is the <i>True Vine</i> .				xv. 1-8.
Discourse on mutual charity.				xv. 9-13.
They are His friends.				xv. 14-17.
The world shall persecute them.				xv. 18-21.
The sin of rejecting Him.				xv. 22-25.
Once more of the Paraclete.				xv. 26-27.
They shall suffer persecution.				xvi. 1-5a.
He goes that He may send them the Paraclete.				xvi. 5b-15.
He will return to them.				xvi. 16-22.
They are now to ask in His Name.				xvi. 23-26.
He declares that He has come from God; their faith.				xvi. 27-33.
Christ's Prayer.				xvii. 1-26.
They come to Gethsemane; the Agony in the garden.	xxvi. 36-46.	xiv. 32-42.	xxii. 40-46.	xviii. 1.
Judas betrays Him and He is arrested.	xxvi. 47-53.	xiv. 43-49.	xxii. 47-53.	xviii. 2-12.
The flight of the disciples.		xiv. 50-52.		

# IV. The Trial and Examination of Christ.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
He is led to Annas first.				xviii. 13-24.
Then to Caiaphas at night.	xxvi. 57-68.	xiv. 53-65.	xxii. 54, 63-65.	Cp. xviii. 24, 28.
A further examination in the morning; it is resolved to send Him to Pilate.	xxvii. 1-2.	xv. 1.	xxiii. 66-71.	
The High Priests hold a private conference with Pilate.				xviii. 28-32.
Christ before Pilate.			xxiii. 1-7.	
Pilate sends Him to Herod.			xxiii. 8-11.	
He is sent back to Pilate who interviews Him privately.			xxiii. 11.	xviii. 33-38a.
He is interrogated before Pilate who proposes to release Barabbas.	xxvii. 11-26.	xv. 2-11.	xxiii. 12-25.	xviii. 38b-40.
He is scourged.	xxvii. 26.	xv. 15.		xix. 1.
He is crowned with thorns.	xxvii. 28-31.	xv. 16-20.		xix. 2-3.
"Ecce Homo!"				xix. 4-5.
Pilate again interviews Christ.				xix. 9-11.
He is condemned to death.	xxvii. 26.	xv. 15.	xxiii. 23-24.	xix. 12-16.

# V. Peter's Denials of Christ.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
The first denial.	xxvi. 58, 69-70.	xiv. 54, 66-68.	xxii. 54, 55-57.	xviii. 15-18.
(a) At the door, John.				
(b) At the fire, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.				

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
The cock crows.		xiv. 68.		
The second denial.	xxi. 71-72.	xiv. 69-72.	xxii. 58.	xviii. 25-27.
(a) A second maid questions him, Matthew, Mark, and Luke, "they" John.				
(b) "At the gate," Matthew, "before the court," Mark, "at the fire," John.				
(c) The cock crows.		xiv. 72.		xviii. 27.
The third denial.	xxvi. 73-74.		xxii. 59-62.	
(a) The cock crows.	xxvi. 74.		xxii. 60.	
(b) The Lord turns and looks on Peter.			xxii. 61.	
(c) Peter remembers His words; and going out he weeps.	xxvi. 75.	xiv. 72.	xxii. 61-62.	

## VI. Narrative of Christ's Passion and Death.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
He is led out to death.	xxvii. 31.	xv. 20.	xxiii. 26.	xix. 16.
Simon of Cyrene is made to help Him (the father of Alexander and Rufus).	xxvii. 32.	xv. 21. xv. 21. xv. 21.	xxiii. 26.	"bearing His own Cross," xix. 17.
The women of Jerusalem bewail Him; His words to them.			xxiii. 27-31.	
He is brought to Golgotha which is Calvary.	xxvii. 33.	xv. 22.	xxiii. 33 (the name "Golgotha" is not given).	xix. 17.
They offer Him gall.	xxvii. 34.	xv. 23.		

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
He is crucified ; At the third hour. <sup>1</sup> "Father, forgive them!"	xxvii. 35.	xv. 24. xv. 25.	xxiii. 34.	xix. 18.
His garments are divided.	xxvii. 35.	xv. 24.	xxiii. 34.	xix. 23-24.
They sat and watched Him.	xxvii. 36.			
The Title: "This is Jesus the King of the Jews."	xxvii. 37.	xv. 26. "The King of the Jews."	xxiii. 38. "This is the King of the Jews."	xix. 19-22. "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews." xix. 20. <sup>2</sup>
In Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.			xxiii. 38.	
The two thieves are crucified with Him.	xxvii. 38.	xv. 27-28.	xxiii. 32-33.	xix. 18.
His Mother at the Foot of the Cross.				xix. 25-27.
"I thirst."				xix. 27.
The passers-by mock Him.	xxvii. 39-44.	xv. 29-32.	xxiii. 35-36.	
viz., "the priests, scribes, and elders;"	Matthew.			
"the people, the ru- lers, and soldiers."			Luke. <sup>3</sup>	
The thieves mock Him; the promise to the Good Thief.			xxiii. 39-43.	
Darkness from sixth to ninth hour.	xxvii. 45.	xv. 33.	xxiii. 44.	
"Eli, Eli!"	xxvii. 46.	xv. 34, "Eloi."		
The soldiers think He is calling on Elias.	xxvii. 47, 49.	xv. 35-36.		
They offer Him vine- gar in a sponge.	xxvii. 48.	xv. 36.	(cp. xxiii. 36. <sup>4</sup> )	xix. 29-30.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. John xix. 14; St. John probably enumerates the hours according to the method of computation in use in Asia Minor and in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> St. John, perhaps, as a Hebrew, has the order "Hebrew, Greek and Latin."

<sup>3</sup> Note how Luke has condensed or combined these two events.

<sup>4</sup> See preceding note.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
Christ dies on the Cross.	xxvii. 50.	xv. 37.		xix. 30.
The legs of the thieves are broken and Christ's side is pierced.				xix. 31-37.
The testimony of John to this event.				xix. 35-37.
The veil is rent. "Father, into Thy Hands I commend My Spirit!"	xxvii. 51.	xv. 38.	xxiii. 44. xxiii. 46.	
The graves are opened and the dead rise.	xxvii. 52-53.			
The Centurion confesses Christ.	xxvii. 54.	xv. 39.	xxiii. 47.	
The women and the rest who stood by.	xxvii. 55-56.	xv. 40-41.	xxiii. 48-49.	
Joseph of Arimathæa (and Nicodemus) take down Christ's body and bury it.	xxvii. 57-60.	xv. 42-46.	xxiii. 50-54.	xix. 38-42, 39.
The women who watched the interment.	xxvii. 61.	xv. 47.	xxiii. 55-56.	

### G. The Resurrection Narratives.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
I. The visits of the Holy Women. <sup>1</sup>				

<sup>1</sup> Two main points stand out in the narratives of the Resurrection: the visits of the Holy Women to the sepulchre and the appearances to the disciples. It cannot be too strongly insisted that these narratives of what took place on the day of Christ's resurrection are but fragmentary; how incomplete they are will appear from 1 Cor. xv. 5-8. St. Augustine is never weary of pointing this out in his *Paschal Sermons*: "Quod sæpe admonendi estis et memoriter tenere debetis; non vos debet movere quod alius Evangelista dicit, si quid



	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
(a) He appears to Mary Magdalen first. <sup>1</sup>		xvi. 9-II. <sup>2</sup>		xx. I, II-18.
(b) Several of them visit the sepulchre.	xxviii. I.	xvi. I-2.	xxiv. I.	
(c) They find the stone rolled away. <sup>3</sup>	xxviii. 2.	xvi. 3-4.	xxiv. 2.	xx. 2.
(d) The guards are terrified.	xxviii. 4.			
(e) The vision of angels; their message: He is risen; they shall see Him in Galilee.	xxviii. 5-7. xxviii. 7.	xvi. 5-7. xvi. 6-7.	xxiv. 4-7. cp. xxiv. 6.	
(f) The risen Christ appears to the women and gives the same message.	xxviii. 9-10.			
(g) The women's message to the disciples.	(cp. xxviii. 8.)	(cp. xvi. 10.) xvi. 8.	xxiv. 9-10.	xx. 2, 18.
(h) They were too frightened to give any message. <sup>4</sup>				
(i) The incredulity of the disciples.	xxviii. 17.	xvi. 11, 13, 14.	xxiv. 11, 41. xxiv. 12.	xx. 3-10.
II. (a) Peter and John run to the sepulchre.				
(b) The guards are bribed to silence.	xxviii. 11-15.			
(c) He appears to Cleophas and another on the way to Emmaus.		xvi. 12.	xxiv. 13-35.	
(d) He appears to Cephas. <sup>5</sup>			xxiv. 34.	

alius prætermittit: quia et ille qui prætermittit quod alius dicit, dicit aliquid quod ille prætermiserat. . . . Auctoritas autem tanta est Evangelii sancti, ut quia in eis loquebatur Spiritus unus, verum sit etiam quod dixerit unus"; *Sermo CCXXXV. I, P.L. XXXVIII. 1118, cf. Sermo CCXXXIV. I, CCXL. I, CCXLV. I, CCXLVI. I, etc.*

<sup>1</sup> Only Mark says "first."

<sup>2</sup> For this passage see *Introduction to St. Mark's Gospel: the authenticity of xvi. 9-20.*

<sup>3</sup> Matthew describes the Angel as rolling it back.

<sup>4</sup> See note (3) *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. I Cor. xv. 5.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>
(e) He appears to the disciples in the supper room. <sup>1</sup>			xxiv. 36-43.	xx. 19-23.
(f) And again to convince Thomas.				xx. 24-29.
(g) Lastly to seven disciples by the lake-side. <sup>2</sup>				xxi. 1-23.

## H. The Ascension of Christ into Heaven.

	<i>Matthew.</i>	<i>Mark.</i>	<i>Luke.</i>	<i>John.</i>	<i>Acts.</i>
He took the disciples out to Bethania and He blessed them.			xxiv. 50.		
He is taken up to heaven.		xvi. 19.	xxiv. 51.		i. 9.
He sits at the Right Hand of the Father.		xvi. 19.			i. 10-12. <sup>3</sup>
The Angels announce His Second Coming.					
The disciples return to Jerusalem with joy.			xxiv. 52.		i. 12.
They are always in the temple.			xxiv. 52.		i. 12.
They preach and Christ confirms their ministry by signs.		xvi. 20.			

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 1 Cor. xv. 5.

<sup>2</sup> St. Paul records further appearances (a) to five hundred brethren at once (b) to James, (c) to all the Apostles, 1 Cor. xv. 6-7.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY

- A. General Principles.
  - B. The Date of the Nativity of Christ.
  - C. The Years of the Public Ministry.
  - D. The Day and Year of the Crucifixion.
- 

OUR present chronological system dates from a Scythian monk in the West, Dionysius Exiguus, who flourished under the Emperors Justin and Justinian. He published his chronological cycle in A.D. 527 and its basis was that Christ was born in 753 A.U.C., in the 4th year of the CXCIVth Olympiad. But it is impossible to reconcile this date with that of the death of Herod which almost certainly took place in B.C. 4; with the consequence that Christ's birth, as we shall see, has to be assigned to about B.C. 6. According to Dionysius' system the year 753 A.U.C. was B.C. 1 and 754 was A.D. 1. On the supposition that Christ's birth is correctly assigned to B.C. 6 and to December 25th, the last five years B.C. according to Dionysius' calculation, which is that in general use, will coincide with the first five years A.D.

#### A. General Principles.

Modern calculations regarding the chronology of the Gospel narrative are almost universally vitiated by the fact that they endeavour to find fixed points in the appearance of the star at Christ's birth and in the eclipse of the sun at His death. But the details furnished us in the Gospels are

too positive to allow us to regard these two phenomena as something purely natural. If the star had been a comet, or if the darkness at the Crucifixion had been merely due to an eclipse, such calculations would have their value. But it is impossible to regard the star which guided the Magi as merely one of the planets or as a comet. For, first of all, the Magi say that they *have seen His star in the east* (Matt. ii. 2); and apparently Herod and his court know nothing of this star (ii. 3-7). But on the Magi leaving the king's presence: *Behold the star which they had seen in the east, went before them, until it came and stood over where the Child was. And seeing the star they rejoiced with exceeding great joy* (ii. 9-10). This can only mean that they saw the star in the East, that it guided them as far as Palestine, that it disappeared when they arrived there, that it reappeared after they had had their interview with the priests who ought to have been able to enlighten them, that they were delighted at its unexpected reappearance, that it stood—or seemed to come to a halt—over the spot where the Child lay. It is true of course that the Evangelist must often speak of natural phenomena after Oriental fashion; but by no stretch of imagination can we suppose that he described one of the familiar stars as passing from East to West! Yet no one imagines that the Magi came from the West, indeed they are expressly said to have come *from the East to Jerusalem* (ii. 1). It would even seem that the star appeared in the daytime (ver. 11), though this is not certain. The whole story loses its force if we decline to believe that the star appeared and disappeared. So too if we maintain that others than the Magi saw it. Again, it is described as standing still. Is this an Oriental figure of speech? If so, then we must say that the sun standing still for Josue and the pillar of cloud which halted and progressed alternately (Exod. xvi. 21) were mere figures of speech.

It should be noted moreover that the Magi do not say that when they were in the East they saw the star in the West, the construction of the sentence in the Greek text seems conclusive on this point. It must however be confessed that the presence of the star in the East makes it hard to see what induced the Magi to go West to seek

the explanation of it. Yet their words: *We have seen His star*, and their apparently spontaneous question: *Where is He that is born King of the Jews?* point to positive information vouchsafed them. They knew what they wanted and why they sought it. Not in vain had Balaam said: *A star shall rise out of Jacob* (Num. xxiv.).

The tradition of the Fathers on the point is clear. Thus Origen says that some held that this star "was created as a minister of the knowledge of Jesus, and was unlike other stars, as perhaps being better than they."<sup>1</sup> Similarly St. Augustine: "The star which the Magi saw held no fateful dominion over Christ born in the flesh but waited upon Him by way of testimony. Moreover, it was not one of those stars which from the outset of creation keep their journeyings in accordance with the Creator's law, but—at the novelty of the Virgin's bringing forth—a new star appeared. . . . If, as seems more probable, for the manifesting of the Christ a star which had not hitherto existed now arose, then Christ was not therefore born because that star was there, but it was there because Christ was born."<sup>2</sup>

As for the so-called "eclipse," it should be noted that (a) the moon was at the full and therefore an eclipse was impossible. (b) That neither Matthew nor Mark give any hint of an eclipse. (c) That Luke merely says "the sun failing" or "having failed."<sup>3</sup> Tertullian tells us that "at the same moment (*viz.* of Christ's crucifixion) the daylight was withdrawn though the sun indicated that it was mid-day. Those who did not know that this had been foretold of Christ thought it was an eclipse; you have the story of this world-event stored up in your archives."<sup>4</sup> Origen too is most explicit. He urges that it was the full moon and that therefore an eclipse was impossible; also that in some copies of Luke the words *And the sun was darkened* do not occur. For Origen these events were but another instance of the

<sup>1</sup> *Tom. I. 24 in Joan., P.G. XIV. 71.*

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Faustum*, II. 5, *P.L. XLII. 212-213*; cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* III. xxxvi. 7; also St. Ignatius, *Ephes.* xix.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is uncertain, the participle may be either the present or the aorist, *ἐκλείποντος* or *ἐκλιπόντος*.

<sup>4</sup> *Apol. XXI., P.L. I. 401*; cf. *Adv. Judæos X., P.L. II. 630*, and also, for a similar event, *Ad Scap. III. P.L. I. 701*. The prophecy is of course Amos viii. 9-10.

marvellous. He is puzzled, however, to account for the silence of profane writers on what must have been a wondrous occurrence,<sup>1</sup> and he therefore suggests that the darkness may have been confined to Jerusalem. He notes that Phlegon the astrologist mentions this darkness but does not say that it took place at the full moon.<sup>2</sup> Similarly St. Chrysostom denies emphatically that it was an eclipse,<sup>3</sup> so, too, St. Jerome.<sup>4</sup>

### B. The Date of Christ's Birth.

The date of the Nativity depends on that of Herod's death.<sup>5</sup>

(a) Now Herod the Great reigned thirty-seven years *de jure*, thirty-four *de facto*, i.e. he only became actually king on the death of Antigonus, the last of the Hasmoneans. Josephus tells us that the Romans made him king in the 184th Olympiad, B.C. 44-40, and in the Consulships of Calvidius and Pollio<sup>6</sup> which fell as we know in B.C. 40. Every month of an incompleted year of reign was counted; thus if Herod began to reign in March, B.C. 40, and died in March, B.C. 4, each of these incompleted years would be counted as a complete year; hence in B.C. 5 Herod would begin his thirty-seventh year. Josephus also tells us that Herod reigned thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus.<sup>7</sup> This took place shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by Herod which latter event Josephus refers to the Consulship of Agrippa and Gallus<sup>8</sup> and to precisely twenty-seven years after Pompey had taken the city,<sup>9</sup> B.C. 63, therefore to B.C. 37-36, thirty-four years from this latter date would assign Herod's death to B.C. 4-3. Dio Cassius, however, assigns the death of Antigonus to the year in which Claudius

<sup>1</sup> Yet cf. Tertullian's remark about the 'archives.'

<sup>2</sup> *Comment. Series* 134 in *Matt.*, P.G. XIII. 1781-1785; also *Contra Celsum*, II. 33 and 59, P.G. XI. 853 and 890. For other quotations from Phlegon see Eusebius *Chron.* P.G. XIX. 535-536.

<sup>3</sup> *Hom. LXXXVIII. (LXXXIX.) 1* in *Matt.* P.G. LVIII. 775.

<sup>4</sup> *Lib. III.* in Amos viii. 9-10, P.L. XXV. 1082, and *Comment. in Matt.* xxvii. 45, P.L. XXVI. 212. See St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.* III. xlv. 2 *ad* 2m.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XIV. xiv. 5; XVII. viii. 1; *B.J.* I. xxxiii. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ant.* XIV. iv. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Dio Cassius, XLIX. 22.



and Norbanus were Consuls, *i.e.* B.C. 38, this would assign Herod's death to B.C. 5.<sup>1</sup>

(b) On Herod's death Archelaus succeeded him. He was later exiled to Vienne, this event is referred by Josephus<sup>2</sup> to "his ninth year," but elsewhere<sup>3</sup> to "his tenth year." According to the former date this exile would assign Archelaus' accession, and consequently Herod's death, to B.C. 3, according to the latter to B.C. 4.

(c) Once more, Herod Philip, who acceded to his Tetrarchy on the death of Herod, died in the twentieth year of Tiberius after reigning thirty-seven years.<sup>4</sup> The twentieth year of Tiberius would be A.D. 33 since he acceded in A.D. 14; this again would refer Herod's death to B.C. 4.

(d) The Birth of Christ would seem to have preceded Herod's death by about two years since Herod decreed the massacre of all male children "of two years old and under," and after that event we have to allow time for the flight into Egypt and the sojourn there. If, then, we are correct in assigning Herod's death to B.C. 4 we must refer the Nativity to about B.C. 6.<sup>5</sup>

(e) St. Luke has two fixed points in his scheme of chronology: (i.) the census which took place at Christ's birth; and (ii.) His age, ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος, at His baptism in the "fifteenth year of Tiberius," ii. 1-2, iii. 1, 23. The difficulties regarding the *census* are notorious. Luke's text has been translated "this was the first census, made

<sup>1</sup> *B.J.* II. vii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 2-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Thus St. Epiphanius says that Christ was born in the thirty-third year of Herod, and that the visit of the Magi, with the subsequent slaughter of the Innocents, took place in his thirty-fifth year, *Hær.* LI. 10, *P.G.* XLI. 905. Epiphanius assigns His birth to the Epiphany, *ib.* 16 and 27, *cols.* 920 and 936, *cp.* No. 24 where he gives the date VIII. Ides of March, *col.* 932. The *Paschal Chronicle* gives December 25, *P.G.* XCII. 495. For the interval between the birth and the visit of the Magi see Eusebius, *Chron.* II. *P.G.* XIX. 531 where the massacre is assigned to Olymp. CXCv., the third year, and Olymp. CXCvi. is called the sixth year of Christ. Again the *Paschal Chronicle* assigns Christ's birth to the thirty-fifth year of Herod, *col.* 469, and further declares that this corresponded with the year 5507 of the world, the eleventh of Cæsar's Imperium, the twenty-eighth of his monarchy, *col.* 511.

when Quirinius was governor of Syria;" but in the first place the article "the" is probably wanting in the original text;<sup>1</sup> secondly Josephus<sup>2</sup> mentions a census made under Quirinius but which he refers to A.D. 6. And while we can understand Luke's silence about this latter census in *Acts*, we cannot understand how an historian like Josephus could omit all reference to so striking a fact as an earlier census made by the same Quirinius. It is generally held however that Quirinius really was twice governor of Syria and it is possible that the inscription known as the *Lapis Venetus*<sup>3</sup> refers to this fact. But this will not prove that Quirinius held a census twice as is generally supposed. Further, it is impossible to fit this earlier governorship by Quirinius into any period which could coincide with Christ's birth, since from B.C. 10 till Herod's death we have a complete list of the governors, *viz.* M. Titius, Sentius Saturninus, and Quintilius Varus. Saturninus left the district not later than the beginning of B.C. 6, and it is at least remarkable that Tertullian<sup>4</sup> expressly refers this census to Saturninus. One is tempted to cut the knot by supposing that "Quirinius" in Luke ii. is a mistake for "Saturninus." But without having recourse to this violent expedient<sup>5</sup> it is legitimate to translate Luke's words differently, *viz.* "this first census took place before Quirinius was governor of Syria." Such a rendering of *πρῶτος* can be paralleled from John i. 30 and xv. 18. St. Luke would thus be referring to the great census held by Quirinius, but would be at the same time carefully distinguishing it from the one which was contemporaneous with Christ's birth.<sup>6</sup> The fact that such a census took place is borne out, as we have seen, by Tertullian's express words, and the fact that he who devoted so much labour to the defence of St. Luke's Gospel against Marcion should so readily desert it can only mean either that he had "Saturninus" in his copies of the Gospel—and there is not the least ground for supposing this—or that he read the passage

<sup>1</sup> The *Paschal Chronicle*, 495, has the article.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5; XVIII. i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *Appendix*.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Marcion*, IV. 19, *P.L.* II. 405.

<sup>5</sup> As does Valesius, notes on *H.E.* I. v. *P.G.* XX. 82.

<sup>6</sup> For this view see Lagrange, *R.B.* January, 1911.

as proposed, *viz.* "this first census took place *before* Quirinius was governor."<sup>1</sup>

On the supposition, then, that the census referred to by St. Luke was not undertaken by Quirinius but by Saturninus we have a *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* for the birth of Christ since Saturninus was governor from B.C. 9-6,<sup>2</sup> and if Herod died B.C. 4 and the Nativity is to be referred to about two years previous to that event we shall have a census coinciding with a most probable date for the Nativity.

Secondly St. Luke states that Christ was *entering upon His thirtieth year when He was baptized* in the fifteenth year of Tiberius. Augustus died in A.D. 14; the fifteenth year of Tiberius his successor will consequently be A.D. 28-29. Now the early chronologists insist that Christ was born in the forty-second year of Augustus,<sup>3</sup> dating, that is, from his accession to the consulate in his twentieth year, *viz.* from 711 A.U.C.; this assigns Christ's birth to 753 A.U.C. According to St. Luke, then, Christ would be beginning his thirtieth year in A.U.C. 782 which would mark Tiberius' fifteenth year, but this again would place His birth in A.U.C. 753. The same results follow from the statement of Clement of Alexandria<sup>4</sup> that Christ was born in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus, reckoning, that is, from the battle of Actium in B.C. 31, at which date Augustus really became supreme ruler.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It must be acknowledged however that this rendering receives no support from Eusebius, *H.E.* I. v., *P.G.* XX. 82, though Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I. xxi., *P.G.* VIII. 881, may perhaps support it, since he writes *ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν "ἀπογραφὰς" γενέσθαι ἐπὶ Αυγούστου*, without any mention of Quirinius.

<sup>2</sup> For the dates of these Governors of Syria see Schurer, *H.J.P.* I. i. p. 350, English translation.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius, *Chron.* *P.G.* XIX. 531, *H.E.* I. v., *P.G.* XX. 82. St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI. 22 and 29, *P.G.* XLI. 928 and 937. Tertullian indeed gives the forty-first year of Tiberius, *Adv. Judæos* VIII. *P.L.* II. 614, *cp.* Eusebius *Chron.* *P.G.* XIX. 530; so too St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* III. xxi. 3, "about the forty-first year," *P.G.* VII. 949.

<sup>4</sup> *Strom.* I. xxi., *P.G.* VIII. 881.

<sup>5</sup> *Cp.* Eusebius, *Chron.* II., *P.G.* XIX. 526. Various ways of estimating the first year of Augustus have been in vogue, thus of those who reckon it from the death of Julius Cæsar some make it coincident with the Ides of March on which Cæsar fell, others date it from the next year when Augustus assumed the Consulship with Peditius after the deaths of Hirtius and Pansa, Olymp. 184. 2, thus Tacitus *de Oratore*; those again who date Augustus' first year

With regard to the various Tables which follow it should be noted that the importance of the lists of Olympiads and of the Roman Consuls is clearly stated by St. Augustine who says :

" By means of the Olympiads and the names of the Consuls many things are discovered by us. Thus ignorance of the Consulate in which the Lord was born and of that in which He suffered has led some people into error. . . . That He was about thirty years old when He was baptized we have on the authority of the Gospels; while for the number of years He lived afterwards, though they can perhaps be gathered from the events in His life, yet lest doubt or obscurity arise from any source they can clearly and with certainty be learnt from a comparison of the Gospel story with profane history."<sup>1</sup>

These last words are important for they show us how confident the Fathers felt in the historical data at their disposal; St. Augustine was not a man to be easily satisfied. In the same way St. Epiphanius remarks: "No one who glances at this list of Consuls (he is giving those from A.D. 1-30), than which there is nothing more certain, would fail to condemn those who fancy there is any discrepancy in the series of years given by the Evangelists."<sup>2</sup>

At the same time it must be acknowledged that there is considerable discrepancy in the various Olympiads and Consular years assigned to points in the Gospel history by Ecclesiastical writers. The term "Olympiad" is derived from the Olympic Games which ran in cycles of four years so that the Olympiads are enumerated as, e.g. 202. 4, i.e. the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad. These Games were instituted by Iphitus, though it appears that they only began to be enumerated when the 28th Olympiad had taken place; this latter counts as the 1st Olympiad and is made by Eusebius coincident with the 1241st year from Abraham, i.e. B.C. 774.<sup>3</sup> But as George Syncellus remarks, "Not all agree in enumerating all the Olympiads";<sup>4</sup> thus St. Jerome in his edition of Eusebius' *Chronicle* numbers them according to the Julian series which he derived from Africanus the chronologist. The Julian Olympiads generally run one ahead of the Iphitian,

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from the battle of Actium are not decided whether it dates from the actual battle or from the subsequent September or from the next year when Antony and Cleopatra died. Cf. the notes of Pontacus as given in the *Appendix* to St. Jerome's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, P.L. XXVII. 988.

<sup>1</sup> *Doctrina Christiana*, II. xxviii. (42), P.L. XXXIV. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Hæv.* LI. 23, P.G. XLI. 930.

<sup>3</sup> Eusebius *Chronicon*, I. xxxii. 3, P.G. XIX. 222 and *Paschal Chronicle*, P.G. XCII. 278-9.

<sup>4</sup> P.G. XCII. 50-51, *Præf. in Chron. Paschale*.

thus Julian 290. 1 coincides with Iphitian 289. 4. This fact will explain the apparent confusion in the writings of Eusebius, Jerome, the *Paschal Chronicle* and St. Epiphanius.

## THE YEAR OF CHRIST'S BIRTH.

	<i>Augustus.</i>	<i>Herod.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>Abraham.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>
<i>Paschal Chron.</i> <sup>1</sup>	40.		5505. <sup>2</sup>		194. 1.	Lentulus and Piso.
Eusebius. <sup>3</sup>	42.	32.		2015.	194. 4.	Vindicius and Varius.
Tertullian. <sup>4</sup>	41.					
St. Jerome. <sup>5</sup>	42.	32.				
St. Epiphanius. <sup>6</sup>	42.	32.				

## THE VISIT OF THE MAGI AND THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS.

	<i>Au- gustus.</i>	<i>Christ.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>Abraham.</i>	<i>Herod.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>
Eusebius.	45-46.	3-4.			35-36.	195. 3. <sup>7</sup>	Lepidus and Plancus.
St. Epiphanius. <sup>8</sup>		2.			35.		
St. Jerome.	44.	3.		2017.	34.	195. 1.	
<i>Paschal Chron.</i>	42.	2.	5507.			194. 4.	Vindicius and Varius.

<sup>1</sup> P.G. XCII. 490 "The eleventh of his Imperial rule, the twenty-eighth of his Monarchy," *ib.* p. 511.

<sup>2</sup> 5507, p. 511.

<sup>3</sup> *Chron.* P.G. XIX. col. 530.

<sup>4</sup> *Adv. Judæos*, VIII.; *cp.* Euseb. *Chron.* P.G. XIX. 530.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. Eusebii*, P.L. XXVII. 558; *Comment. in Dan.* ix. P.L. XXV. 550, he gives the forty-first year of Augustus.

<sup>6</sup> *Hæv.* LI. 10, 22, 29; in LI. 29 he expressly argues against the view that Christ was born in the fortieth year of Augustus, P.G. XLI. 906, 927, 930, 938. The discrepancy of a year in the regnal years of Augustus and of Herod, as also in the years of Christ, may well be due to the different methods of enumeration in vogue. The years of the Emperors began from March, the years of Christ from January, hence an inevitable overlapping.

<sup>7</sup> Or 196. 1; he only assigns three years to Olymp. 195 (?).

<sup>8</sup> *Hæv.* LI. 9-10.

## THE YEAR OF HEROD'S DEATH.

	<i>Augustus.</i>	<i>Christ.</i>	<i>Herod.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>
<i>Paschal Chron.</i> p. 503.	44.	5.		195. 4. <sup>1</sup>	Magnus and Valerius.
St. Jerome, p. 562.	47.	6.	37.	195. 4.	
Eusebius.	47.	5.	37.	196. 2.	Camillus and Quintilianus.
St. Epiphanius. <sup>2</sup>			37.		

## C. The Chronology of the Public Ministry of Our Lord.

The Synoptists show us a Galilean ministry broken up by a series of circuits in Galilee, *e.g.* Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, Mark vi. 6, etc. At the same time periodic visits to Jerusalem are at least implied in Luke xiii. 34. The Synoptic writers also indicate a definite break with Galilee, Matt. xix. 1, Mark x. 1, Luke ix. 51. St. Luke however does not bring Christ directly to Jerusalem as do Matthew and Mark, but tells us of a prolonged Samaritan and Peræan ministry, ix. 51-xviii. 34. This ministry is presented in the form of a series of advances towards the Holy City, x. 38, xiii. 22, xvii. 11, xviii. 31, *cp.* xix. 1. These three Evangelists furnish no clear ground for supposing that the public ministry lasted more than one year or thereabouts, and this opinion was held by several of the earlier Fathers.<sup>3</sup> St. John, however, gives

<sup>1</sup> Or (?) 196. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hæv.* LI. 10, *P.G.* XLI. 906.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* I. xxi., *P.G.* VIII. 886. This view is expressly repudiated by St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæv.* II. xx. 1, xxii. 1-6; by Origen, *Hom.* XXXII. in *Lucam*, *P.G.* XIII. 1883; by Eusebius, *H.E.* I. x., III. xxiv., *P.G.* XX. 266 on the authority of St. John, so also by St. Jerome, *Vir. Illustr.* IX., *P.L.* XXIII. 623.

As is well known, St. Irenæus maintains that Christ lived to be between forty and fifty years of age. But this is due to his desire to refute the Gnostics of his time who insisted much on mystical numbers and who saw a confirmation of their theories in the "twelve" Apostles, in the "seventy-two" disciples, and in the



us a careful and minute series of dates as though he would correct any false impression which readers might naturally derive from the first three Gospels. Thus we notice the following movements of Christ as depicted in the Fourth Gospel :

i. 43. On His way to Galilee after the first call of the Disciples in Judæa.

ii. 1-11. At Cana of Galilee.

ii. 12. At Capharnaum.

ii. 13-iii. 21. In Jerusalem for the Passover. Note the minute indications of time in i. 29, 35, 43, ii. 1, as compared with ii. 12, *after this*.

iii. 22. He goes to Judæa, presumably as distinct from Jerusalem itself.

iv. 3-43. On His way to Galilee He passes through Samaria. Note: *there are yet four months to the harvest*, iv. 35; this expression enables us to refer this journey to December-January, and we should thus have an interval of about eight months between the Passover of ii. 11, and this second visit to Galilee.

iv. 46. His second visit to Cana of Galilee.

v. 1. A festival at Jerusalem; He goes up for it. St. Irenæus<sup>1</sup> counts this as a Passover. Yet the Greek definite article is wanting in many MSS. whereas, if we are to judge by the analogy of vi. 4, xiii. 1, it should be present if the great Feast of the Passover is intended. If it is not the Passover then it can only (?) refer to the Feast of Purim in March, for the Feast of Trumpets falls in September and would be inconsistent with iv. 35.

vi. 4. He is again in Galilee at the time of the Passover, though we are not told of His return. This Passover will be the second—the third if we are to include v. 1.

vii. 2-10. He goes up for the Feast of Tabernacles, *viz.* September.

x. 22. He is present for the Feast of the Dedication in winter, *i.e.* December. We are not told of His having left Judæa after vii. 10, so it is possible that He returned no more to Galilee.

x. 44. Cf. iii. 23. He retires to Salim not far from the borders of Samaria.

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presumed "twelve" months of Christ's ministry. Hence Irenæus insists on the various Passover feasts at which Christ was actually present according to the Gospels, and he is naturally led to urge that even John v. 1 refers to a Paschal festival. For the same reason he makes capital out of the Jews' scornful remark "thou art not yet fifty years old!" John viii. 57, and urges that He must have been between forty and fifty in order to justify such a retort. But Irenæus stands alone in this view though he claims to have in his support "the testimony of all those Elders who lived with John the Lord's disciple in Asia," *Adv. Hæv.* II. xxii. 1-6; *cp.*, too, St. Chrysostom, *Hom. liv. in Joan.*

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Hæv.* II. xxii. 3, P.G. VII. 783.

- xi. 17. He comes to Bethany.
  - xi. 54. He retires to Ephrem.
  - xii. 1. He comes again to Bethany and to Jerusalem, xii. 12.
- This is the last Passover.

It will thus be seen that St. John enumerates certainly three Passovers, ii. 13, vi. 4, xii. 1, and possibly a fourth, v. 1.<sup>1</sup>

In adapting these three Passovers to the *Synoptic* account of the Public Ministry we can take advantage of the fact that the miracle of the multiplication of the loaves for the 5000 occurs in all four narratives and that St. John associates it with the second Passover. Thus Matt. xiv. 13-22, Mark vi. 31-44, Luke ix. 10-17, will be coincident with this second Passover. Again John i.-iv. gives us details of a Galilean ministry after the Temptation, but earlier than that witnessed to by the Synoptists. Thus the first Passover, John ii. 13, is not mentioned by the *Synoptists*. Further, if the Public Ministry began with the miracle at Cana, John ii. 1-11, it will have commenced shortly before the Passover, John ii. 13. And all the events narrated by the Synoptists between the Temptation and the miracle for the 5000 will have taken place between the first and second Passovers. It has been suggested that if John v. 1 does not refer to the Passover the Feast mentioned may have been Pentecost; it would thus coincide with the episode in the cornfield which took place at harvest time and is, Luke vi. 1, referred to the mysterious “second-first Sabbath,” *cp.* Matt. xii. 1-8, Mark ii. 23-28; but this identification is wellnigh impossible, see above.

Luke ix. 51 shows us that after the second or the third Passover Christ made His way slowly to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> John

<sup>1</sup> The *Paschal Chronicle* regards John v. 1 as a Passover, and calls vi. 4 “the third Passover,” thus making the Public Ministry cover three years and a half, *P.G.* XCII. 527. Similarly Eusebius says that Christ “preached for three years after Tiberius XV. according to St. John’s Gospel,” *P.G.* XIX. 535, words repeated by St. Jerome in his edition of Eusebius’ *Chronicon*, *P.L.* XXVII. 571; *cp.* his *Comment.* on Dan. ix., *P.L.* XXV. 547, though he himself remarks immediately afterwards “juxta Joannem Evangelistam per tria Paschata duos postea implevit annos,” *ib.* 548.

<sup>2</sup> St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* XXII. 3, *P.G.* VII. 783; St. Jerome on Gal. i. 17, *P.L.* XXVI. 327-8.

would seem to imply, vii. 2, x. 22, that in the course of this journey He came up to Jerusalem for the two winter feasts Tabernacles and the Dedication.

## THE YEAR OF CHRIST'S BAPTISM.

	<i>Tiberius.</i>	<i>Christ.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>Abraham.</i>	<i>Herod the Tetrarch.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consuls</i>
Eusebius. <sup>1</sup>	15.	29.			15.	202. 1.	Rufus and Rubellinus.
St. Epiphanius. <sup>2</sup>		29 years and 10 months.					
St. Jerome. <sup>3</sup>	15.	30.		2044.	15.	201. 4.	
<i>Paschal Chron.</i> <sup>4</sup>	15.	30.	5536.			202. 1.	Rufus and Rubellinus.

## THE YEARS OF THE PUBLIC MINISTRY.

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>	<i>Tiberius.</i>	<i>Herod.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>
28.	Eusebius. <i>Paschal Chron.</i>	13. 13.		5534.	201. 3. 201. 3.	Silanus and Nerva.
	St. Jerome. St. Epiphanius.	13.	13.			Getulius and Sabinus.
29.	Eusebius. <i>Paschal Chron.</i>	14. 14.			201. 4. 201. 4.	Geminus and Geminus. Geminus and Geminus.
	St. Jerome. St. Epiphanius.	14.	14.			Crassus and Piso.

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. col.* 534.<sup>2</sup> *Hæv.* LI. 16.<sup>3</sup> *Chron. Eusebii, col* 570.<sup>4</sup> *P.G.* XCII. cols. 510-511.

THE YEARS OF THE PUBLIC MINISTRY—*continued.*

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Authority.</i>	<i>Tiberius.</i>	<i>Herod.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consuls.</i>
30.	Eusebius. <sup>1</sup>	16.	16.		202. 2.	Vinnicius and Longinus. <sup>2</sup>
	<i>Paschal Chron.</i> <sup>3</sup>	15.		5536.	202. 1.	Rufinus and Rubellinus. <sup>4</sup>
31. (40) <sup>5</sup> (31)	Eusebius.	17.	17.		202. 3.	Tiberius.
	<i>Paschal Chron.</i>	16.		5537. <sup>6</sup>		Vinnicius and Longinus.
	<i>Paschal Chron.</i> <sup>7</sup>	17.		5538. <sup>8</sup>	202. 3.	Tiberius.
32	Eusebius. <sup>9</sup>	18.	18		202. 4.	Persicus and Vitellius.
	<i>Paschal Chron.</i>	18.		5539.	202. 4.	Persicus and Vitellius.
33.	Eusebius.	19.	19.		203. 1	Aruntius and Ahenobarbus.
	<i>Paschal Chron.</i>	19.			203. 1.	Aruntius and Ahenobarbus.

## D. The Days of the Week on which the Last Supper and the Crucifixion took place respectively.

This is rather a question of exegesis than of "Introduction," yet its importance is so great that it may well be treated here. For it is the keynote to the Chronology of

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. col.* 535.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 291.<sup>3</sup> *Col.* 510.

<sup>4</sup> It is practically certain that since the "Two Gemini" had for their full names C. Rubellius Geminus and C. Fusius Geminus, and since *Rufus* may well be a mistake for *Fusius*, the *Paschal Chronicle* as well as St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI. 23. *P.G.* XLI. 931, have repeated the consulship of the Gemini under different names.

<sup>5</sup> The figure 40 only appears in the Latin version and is unintelligible.

<sup>6</sup> Or 5538 in the text, for the expressed reason that the year began on March 21.

<sup>7</sup> From the fact that the entry for this year coincides with that of Eusebius for A.D. 31 we should be inclined to think that the preceding entry, *cf.* note 5, was simply a duplicate; were it not that from the years assigned to Tiberius and to the world a space of two years and not of one only is presumed.

<sup>8</sup> Or 5539 see *supra*.

<sup>9</sup> *Col.* 535.

the period, and an investigation of it will serve to bring into fuller light the absolute harmony of the four Gospel narratives.

The Paschal ceremonies were intended as a commemoration of two features of the Exodus from Egypt, namely the slaughter of the Egyptian first-born with the preservation of those of the Israelites, and the haste with which the people fled, a haste which precluded them from even leavening their bread. Thus in Exodus xii. 1-14 the Israelites are directed to slay a lamb on the evening of the 14th Nisan and eat it that same evening; in xii. 15-20, they are to eat unleavened bread for the following seven days—the “day” of course being counted, as always among the Hebrews, from the previous evening, *i.e.* that of the 14th; *cp.* Exod. xxiii. 15, xxxiv. 18. In Lev. xxiii. 5-15 we have minute details regarding the ritual to be observed: the Paschal meal—the lamb—is to be eaten on the evening of the 14th, the next day—the 15th—is “the Solemnity” of the unleavened bread; and the next day after the Sabbath (apparently the Sabbath which falls within the seven days of unleavened bread) they are to offer to the Lord a sheaf of the first fruits of their corn. The enumeration of the seven weeks of days till Pentecost, or the “Feast of Weeks,” is to commence from the day subsequent to this presentation of the sheaf. Thus we have the following points: (*a*) the eating of the lamb on the 14th, at evening; (*b*) the solemn day, *i.e.* the 15th the 1st of Azymes or unleavened bread; (*c*) the Sabbath that fell within the octave; (*d*) the day after the Sabbath, *viz.* the day on which the sheaf was offered and from which the fifty days to the Feast of Weeks were enumerated; *cp.* Num. ix. 2-5, xxviii. 16-17, xxxiii. 3, Deut. xvi. 1-9. So far the theory. And the practice as recorded in the Bible is in harmony with it. In Jos. v. 10 11 we have the first recorded Passover subsequent to the original one in Egypt; they ate the lamb on the 14th at evening, they kept the “solemnity” on the 15th. Two other historical Passovers are recorded as kept by Ezechias and Josias respectively; in these accounts we notice a tendency to denote the two main features of the Feast by the one name “the Solemnity of the unleavened

bread," *e.g.* 2 Paral. viii. 13, xxx. 13, *cf.* Exod. xxiii. 15 xxxiv. 18. At other times it is termed "the Phase"<sup>1</sup> or "the solemnity of the Phase," *cf.* 2 Paral. xxxv. 7, and *cf. ibid.* vv. 1, 8, 9, 11, 18, also Num. ix. 1-14. The two terms are carefully distinguished in Lev. xxiii. 5-6 and Num. xxviii. 16-17. But the most important point to notice is the way in which the actual sacrifices for the two distinct portions of the Feast are embraced under the one term "Phase." Thus in 2 Paral. xxxv. 1, *Josias kept a Phase . . . and it was sacrificed on the fourteenth day of the month.* Clearly this is the Paschal lamb. But immediately after we are told that *in the solemnity of the Phase . . . Josias gave lambs and kids . . . , small cattlh and oxen . . . , and others again gave to the priests to keep the Phase* immense numbers of small cattle and oxen, vv. 7-9. But the two terms are at once precisely distinguished when we read that *the Phase was immolated . . . and the Levites flayed the holocausts . . . . And they roasted the Phase with fire according to that which is written in the Law, but the victims of peace offerings they boiled.* Needless to say the priests had to be "sanctified" whenever they offered sacrifice, but it concerns us to note that in the account of the Phase celebrated by Ezechias, 2 Paral. xxx. many of the priests were not sanctified. They were thus precluded not only from pouring out the blood of the Paschal lambs, 16-17, but also from offering the holocausts, 15, and from eating the victims of peace offerings, 24; all these categories are included under the one term "phase" in the account of the Phase kept by Josias, as we have seen, 2 Paral. xxxv., *cf.* Esdras vi. 19-22.

We are now in a position to examine the *data* furnished us in the Gospels. In Matt. xxvi. 2, our Lord says: *After two days shall be the Pasch*, Mark xiv. 1, *The feast of the Pasch and of the Azymes was after two days*, Luke xxii. 1, *The feast of unleavened bread, which is called the Pasch, was at hand.* We notice that the two features of the Feast are embraced under either of the two terms: *Pasch* or *Unleavened bread* as we have seen already in the Old Testament. And though the Solemnity of Azymes was really the 15th of the month yet the prohibition to eat leavened bread coincided with the eating of the lamb, *i.e.* it began with the evening of the

<sup>1</sup> *Viz. Passover.*



14th, *cf.* Exod. xii. 18-19. Hence the feast of the Pasch and of Unleavened bread both began on the evening of the 14th. Consequently Christ's prediction that His Passion would coincide with the Pasch or Day of Unleavened bread dated from the 12th Nisan. It would begin to be accomplished on the evening of the 14th, for on that evening was celebrated the opening part of the Feast, *viz.* the Pasch which ushered in the Solemn day of Azymes. Thus in the account of the Last Supper St. Matthew says: *And on the 1st day of the Azymes the disciples ask: Where wilt Thou that we prepare for Thee to eat the Pasch?* It was the 1st day of Azymes since on that evening the precept of not eating leavened bread came into force and also the lamb was eaten; thus St. Mark: *Now on the first day of the Unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Pasch,* xiv. 12, so also Luke xxii. 7.

It is perfectly clear, then, that the Synoptic Gospels represent our Lord as eating the Paschal supper, and on the evening of the 14th Nisan. The question is whether St. John contradicts them or tacitly corrects them by saying that He died on the 14th and that consequently, if He ate any Paschal lamb at all, it was by way of anticipation.

To take the passages in order: in John xiii. 1, the Last Supper is described as taking place *before the festival day of the Pasch*. Now nowhere is the actual eating of the Lamb described as a "festival day," whereas the term "Pasch" is in the Old Testament, see above, extended to the whole octave, but especially to the "Solemn Day" *i.e.* the 15th Nisan. Hence this passage alone cannot be held to prove that St. John is here referring to the 13th Nisan and not to the 14th, *cf.* Lev. xxiii. 16 and Num. xxviii. 16-17. Three times over does St. John refer to "the festival day;" thus, the Greeks had come up *to adore on the festival day*, xii. 20, this can hardly be referred to the eating of the lamb which was a private act, it is far more natural to refer it to the "Solemn Day," *i.e.* the 15th, *cf.* xi. 56 and xiii. 29. So also in Matt. xxvi. 5 the rulers refuse to arrest Him on the Festival Day lest there should be a tumult, this was far more probable on the 15th when the Temple was crowded.

Again in John xviii. 28, the priests refuse to enter the Prætorium lest they should *be defiled, but that they might eat the Pasch*. All is plain if we bear in mind the statements already quoted from 2 Paral. xxx. and xxxv. : the expression "eat the Pasch" could be used of the lamb and *also* of the sacrifices of peace offerings which distinguished the "Solemn Day" or the 15th Nisan; for both alike the priests had to be "sanctified" from contact with aught that could defile, *cp.* 2 Paral. xxxv. 7-14.

There remain the three references to the *Parasceve of the Pasch*, xix. 14, 31, 42: *It was the Parasceve of the Pasch, about the sixth hour, when he saith to the Jews: Behold your king!* xix. 14; the Jews besought Pilate to remove the bodies because it was the *Parasceve*, that the bodies might not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day—for that was a great Sabbath day, xix. 31, finally: *there therefore, because of the Parasceve of the Jews, they laid Jesus*, xix. 42. It is commonly held that this term "*Parasceve*" denotes the day of preparation for the Pasch, more especially since the Evangelist seems to go out of his way to say that the day for which they were preparing *was a great Sabbath day*. But those who hold this view must prove that there was a day of "*Preparation*" for any Feast, also that any Feast was termed a "*Sabbath*." But neither of these points can be proved. On the other hand St. Mark, xv. 42, is perfectly explicit, for he defines the term *Parasceve* by adding: *that is, the day before the Sabbath*, in Greek *προσάββατον*. Nothing could be clearer. But why does St. John term it *a great Sabbath*? There can be only one reason: it was the Sabbath which fell, apparently, within the octave of the Feast of Azymes, and that this Sabbath was specially important is clear from Lev. xxiii. where it is made the basis for offering up the sheaf of first fruits of the corn-harvest, and thus indirectly the basis from which the days are counted till Pentecost.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most convincing argument of all is that the view which would make our Lord either not eat the Pasch at all or only by anticipation on the 13th at evening, would make the priests declare that at midday of the 14th they could not enter the Prætorium lest they should thereby be defiled and so unable to eat the Pasch which,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, III. xlvi. 9 *ad* 1m.

on the hypothesis, was to be celebrated that night. Yet it is perfectly clear from Lev. xv. 1-18 that ceremonial defilement expired with sundown.

It is not surprising that the Patristic tradition on this point follows divergent lines according as the local influence of the Synoptic or the Johannine tradition prevailed. For St. John, as we have seen, seems to say that Christ suffered *before* the passover, *viz.* on the 14<sup>th</sup> Nisan, the Synoptists that He suffered on the "solemn day" of the Passover, *viz.* the 15<sup>th</sup> Nisan. Thus the Quartodecimans, as their name implies, maintained that He suffered on the 14<sup>th</sup> of the month and that consequently the anniversary of the Crucifixion must be observed religiously on that date.<sup>1</sup> The *Paschal Chronicle*, dating from A.D. 641,<sup>2</sup> quotes testimonies from three early writers in support of the assertion that Christ suffered on the 14<sup>th</sup> Nisan and therefore did not eat the Jewish Passover but was Himself the Lamb that was slain: first of all Hippolytus of Portus is quoted as saying "He ate not the Passover but suffered;"<sup>3</sup> then Apollinarius of Hierapolis as blaming those who say that Christ "ate the Passover on the 14<sup>th</sup> and died on the great day of Azymes on the ground that Matthew says this as they understand him; but their interpretation is opposed to the Law, and they fancy the Evangelists are in contradiction with one another;"<sup>4</sup> similarly Clement of Alexandria is quoted as saying that whereas in former years Christ had eaten the Jewish Passover, He did not do so on this last occasion.<sup>5</sup> St. Irenæus,<sup>6</sup> Tertullian,<sup>7</sup> and Africanus the Chronologist, all appear to hold the same view. St. Epiphanius is explicit: he says that the Quartodecimans held to the 8<sup>th</sup> of the Kalends of April as the date of the Crucifixion and based their view on the *Acta Pilati*; but Epiphanius notes that in some copies of these *Acta* the 15<sup>th</sup> and not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. St. Epiphanius, *Hær.* LI., P.G. XLI. 886.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot, *Ignatius and Polycarp*, I. p. 66, circa 630.

<sup>3</sup> P.G. XCII. 78-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 79. These passages are all from *Treatises on the Paschal Question*, which are no longer extant.

<sup>5</sup> *Paschal Chron.* P.G. XCII. 80.

<sup>6</sup> *Adv. Hær.* IV. x. 1, P.G. VII. 1000.

<sup>7</sup> *Adv. Judæos* VIII., P.L. II. 616.

the 8th is given, while he declares that the true date is the 13th, for "it was necessary, according to the Law, that Christ should be sacrificed on the 14th."<sup>1</sup>

The fact, however, that Apollinarius undertook to refute those who held for the 14th as the date of the Last Supper and the 15th as the date of the Crucifixion, shows that however widespread the view that Christ died on the 14th it was not in absolute possession, and that the view which ultimately prevailed, and of which Origen and St. Chrysostom among the Greeks and Pseudo-Cyprian and St. Ambrose among the Latins were the principal exponents, was widely accepted. According to this view Christ ate the Passover "after the Jewish fashion"<sup>2</sup> and "to show that He was no adversary to the Law."<sup>3</sup> And it is certainly difficult to see how the harmony of the Evangelists can be maintained if we are to follow what St. John *seems* to say and thus set him in opposition to the Synoptists whose Gospels he knew. Their meaning is clear, Christ ate the Passover on the evening of the 14th and He died on the 15th, the "solemn day." But, as we have seen above, St. John is only in apparent conflict with this, and his various statements can be perfectly well read in harmony with the Synoptist narrative.

If, then, the Crucifixion took place on 15th Nisan, and also on a Friday as tradition demands, are we in a position to date the year of the Crucifixion? The Jewish months were lunar and the first day of the month was arrived at by observation, though it is evident that since there might be several days when the sky was clouded, some system of calculation must have been in use. If the 15th Nisan

<sup>1</sup> *Hæv.* L. ii. P.G. XLI. 888; *ib.* 26, col. 933: "He suffered on the XIIIth Kal. of April—for they had anticipated one night—that is on the 14th of the month at midnight. That is they ate the Passover before the time as the Gospel bears witness and as we have pointed out." But Epiphanius is compelled to allow that after anticipating the Passover "He ate the Jewish Passover with the disciples, nor could He have done aught else save act as they did so that He "might not destroy the Law but fulfil the Law," *ib.* 27, col. 936. There is clearly some confusion here!

<sup>2</sup> *Series Comment. in Matt.* 79. P.B. XIII. 1728.

<sup>3</sup> St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* LXXXI. (*al.* LXXXII.) 1 in *Matt.* xxvi. 17, P.G. LVIII. 730.

was a Friday then the 1st Nisan must also have been a Friday. Now it has been computed that 1st Nisan fell on a Friday in A.D. 30, *viz.* March 25. Consequently 14th Nisan fell on the Thursday and the 15th on the Friday. The Crucifixion, then, would, in accordance with these data, have taken place on April 7, A.D. 30.

But it is unwise to dogmatize on this point. For in the first place the Jewish computation of the months cannot now be arrived at with absolute certainty, neither can we say with confidence that a certain Friday was necessarily the 15th and not the 14th Nisan. In the second place, though both St. Epiphanius<sup>1</sup> and St. Augustine<sup>2</sup> insist upon the importance of the Consular dates and of the number of the Olympiads, there is much confusion prevalent among early writers regarding these very dates; there is frequent contradiction, for instance, between the reckoning of the Olympiads in Eusebius' *Chronicle* and in the *Paschal Chronicle*, while the consular year known as that "of the Two Gemini," *viz.* Fufius (Rufus) and Rubellius Geminus, is variously given. Thus Augustine declares that Christ died "on VIII. Kal. Aprilis (March 25) during the consulship of the Two Gemini;"<sup>3</sup> Lactantius says "in the latter days of Tiberius, in the consulship of Ruberius and Fufius Geminus, and on the X. Kal. Aprilis (March 23), as I find it written, Christ was crucified."<sup>4</sup> Others again, that He was baptized during their consulship, *e.g.* Eusebius<sup>5</sup> and the *Paschal Chronicle*;<sup>6</sup> others again suppose that He was both baptized and crucified under these same consuls, and since they identify their consular year with Tiberius 15 they hold that Christ's public ministry only extended over one year, thus Tertullian,<sup>7</sup> Origen<sup>8</sup> and Clement of Alexandria.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hær.* LI. 23, *P.G.* XLI. 929.

<sup>2</sup> *De Doctr. Christ.* II. xxviii. (42), *P.L.* XXXIV. 55.

<sup>3</sup> *De Civ. Dei*, XVIII. 54, *P.L.* XLI. 619, *cp. Quæst. LXXXIII.*, qu. 56, *P.L.* XLIX. 30, *De Trin.* IV. v. (9), *P.L.* XLII. 894.

<sup>4</sup> *Instit.* IV. 10; *De Morte Persecutorum* II.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron.* II. *P.G.* XIX. 291.

<sup>6</sup> *P.G.* XCII. 510.

<sup>7</sup> *Adv. Judæos*, VIII., *P.L.* II. 615.

<sup>8</sup> *Philocalia* i., Christ preached "a year and a few months"; but *cp. Contra Celsum* II. 12, "Judas was not three years with Christ," *P.G.* XI. 818.

<sup>9</sup> *Strom.* I. xxi., *P.G.* VIII. 885.

Epiphanius cuts the knot in characteristic fashion for he assigns the baptism to the year 30, *Silvano and Nerva Coss.*, the year 31 is assigned to the Two Gemini, and the year 32 to "Rufus and Rubellius," *i.e.* the Two Gemini under their actual names! The year 33 he assigns as the date of the death of Christ.<sup>1</sup>

### THE YEAR OF CHRIST'S DEATH.

	<i>Tiberius.</i>	<i>Chr.'st.</i>	<i>Herod.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>Abraham.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consul.s.</i>
<i>Paschal Chron.</i>	19. <sup>2</sup>	32.		5539. <sup>3</sup>		202. 4. <sup>4</sup>	Persicus and Vitellius.
St. Jerome. <sup>5</sup>	18.	33.	18.		2047.	202. 3. <sup>6</sup>	
Eusebius.	19.	33.	19.			203. 1. <sup>7</sup>	Aruntius and Ahenobarbus.
St. Epiphanius. <sup>8</sup>		33.					Vinicius and Longinus

It would seem that the tradition to the effect that Christ died in the consulship of the Two Gemini—positively asserted by St. Augustine and Lactantius—was the disturbing factor.<sup>9</sup> For this consulship was identified with the fifteenth year of Tiberius, see Eusebius' *Chronicle* and the *Paschal Chronicle*, hence the conclusion that since Christ was baptized in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, Luke iii., His ministry only extended over one year, so Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, etc. But the Gospels shewed that He was present at several Paschal feasts and that consequently His ministry covered at least two years and a few months, or

<sup>1</sup> *Hæv.* LI. 16, 23, 25, *P.G.* XLI. 920, 932, 933.

<sup>2</sup> 18 in heading to section, but 19 again, *col.* 539, because the Imperial year began on March 21.

<sup>3</sup> 5540 *col.* 539. <sup>4</sup> He quotes Phlegon for this figure, *cf. infra.*

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. Eusebii*, 571.

<sup>6</sup> But he also quotes Phlegon for 202. 4.

<sup>7</sup> He also quotes Phlegon for 202. 4. <sup>8</sup> *Hæv.* LI. 23, *col.* 931.

<sup>9</sup> *Cf. supra* for the Consulship of the Gemini as synchronizing with the year of Christ's Passion.



even three years and a few months if John v. l. referred to a *Passover*. Hence Eusebius and the *Paschal Chronicle*, while assigning the consulate of the Gemini to Tiberius 15, assign Christ's death to Tiberius 18 or 19 according as they regard the year as beginning in January or in March. St. Epiphanius gives the Two Gemini as consuls for Christ's thirty-first year, Rufus and Rubellius (the Gemini under their individual names—though Eusebius does the same) for His thirty-second year, and Vinicius and Longinus for His thirty-third year.

The following Table may prove useful, but it should be remembered (*a*) that there is much disagreement regarding the Olympiads specified, (*b*) that owing to the different methods in use in different countries for enumerating the regnal years of Rulers there is a constant overlapping, (*c*) that the years B.C. are not reckoned according to our present system, that namely due to Dionysius Exiguus, *cf. supra*, (*d*) that even the years A.U.C. are differently given by chronologists.

### Chronological Tables.

	A.U.C.	B.C.	Hyrcauus. Cleopatra.		Olympiad.	Consuls.
Pompey takes Jerusalem.	691.	63.	1.		178. 3.	Antony and Cicero.
Julius Cæsar's first year as Emperor.	711.	42.	19.	2.	183. 1.	
Herod becomes king <i>de jure</i> .	714.	40.			183. 4.	Calpurnius and Pollio.
Cæsar is killed and Octavian reigns.	716.	37.	27.	7.	184. 2.	
Antigonus dies and Herod is king <i>de facto</i> .	716.	37.	34.		184. 2.	Agrippa and Gallus.
Battle of Actium.	723.	31.	Herod. 5.	18.		
Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra; first year of Octavian.	728.				188. 2.	

	<i>A.U.C.</i>	<i>B.C.</i>	<i>Herod.</i>	<i>Augustus.</i>	<i>Olympiad.</i>	<i>Consu's.</i>
A Census at Rome.					188. 4	
A Census in Judæa under Saturninus.	748.				190. 2.	
Census under Quirinius. <sup>1</sup>	751.				194. 3.	
Christ is born.	753.					
The Magi and the Innocents.		5.	34.	44.	195. 3.	
Herod dies.	756.	5.			196. 1.	

<sup>1</sup> But *cf. supra s.v. Census.*

## APPENDIX.

### SOME INSCRIPTIONS.

#### I.

THE inscription of Aemilius Secundus (known as the Lapis Venetus).

Q. ÆMILIUS • Q.F.  
 PAL • SECUNDUS IN  
 CASTRIS • DIVI • AUG • SUB  
 P. Sulpicio • Quirinio LEG AUG  
 CÆSARIS • SYRIÆ • HONORI  
 BUS • DECORATUS • PRÆFEC  
 COHORT • AUG. I • PRÆFECT  
 COHORT • II • CLASSICÆ • IDEM  
 IUSSU • QUIRI • CENSUM • EGI  
 APAMENÆ • CIVITATIS • MIL  
 LIUM • HOMIN • CIVIUM • CXVII  
 IDEM • MISSU • QUIRINI • ADVERSUS  
 ITURÆOS • IN • LIBANO • MONTE •  
 CASTELLUM • EORUM • CEPI • ET • ANTE  
 MILITIEM • PRÆFECT • FABRUM •  
 DELATUS • A. DUOBUS • COS • AD • AE  
 RARIUM • ET • IN COLONIA •  
 QUÆSTOR • ÆDIL • II • DUUMVIR • II  
 PONTIFEX  
 IBI • POSITIS • SUNT • Q. ÆMILIUS • Q.F. PAL  
 SECUNDUS • F • ET • ÆMILIA • CHIA • LIB  
 H. M. AMPLIUS • H.N.S.

(RAMSAY: *Was Christ*, etc., p. 274.)

#### II.

Inscription relating to Quirinius (St. Luke ii.).

C. CARISTA(nio  
 C. F. SER • FRONT)oni

To Gaius Caristanus  
 (Son of Gaius, of Sergian tribe)  
 Fronto

CÆSIANO IULI(o),  
 PRÆF(ecto) FAER(um), PON(tifi-  
 ci),

Cæsianus Julius,  
 Chief of engineers, pontifex,

SACERDOTI, PRÆFECTO  
P. SULPICI QUIRINI DUUMVIRI,

PRÆFECTO M. SERVILI.  
HUIUS PRIMO OMNIUM  
PUBLICE D(ecurionum) D(ecre-  
to) STATUA  
POSITA EST.

Priest, prefect of  
P. SULPICIUS QUIRINIUS duum-  
vir,

Prefect of M. Servilius.  
To him first of all men.  
At state expense by decree of the  
decuriones, a statue  
was erected.

RAMSAY: *Exp.* Nov. 1912.<sup>1</sup>

### III.

Translation of a Greek Inscription referring to Lysanias  
the Tetrarch. St. Luke iii. 1.

FOR THE HEALTH OF THE LORDS AUGUSTUS  
AND OF ALL THEIR FAMILY  
NYMPHÆUS SON OF ABIMMEUS  
FREEDMAN OF LYSANIAS THE TETRARCH  
HAVING LAID OUT (?) THIS ROAD MADE IT  
AND BUILT THE TEMPLE AND PLANTED  
ALL THE PLANTATIONS AT HIS  
OWN EXPENSE. FOR THE LORD CHRONOS  
A TESTIMONY OF PIETY  
TOWARDS THE LORD CHRONOS AND THE DISTRICT.

This inscription was copied many years ago by the explorer Pococke and was re-discovered in 1912 on the site of Abila when the above corrected copy was made. St. Luke speaks of a Lysanias who was contemporary with the fifteenth year of Tiberius, 28-29 A.D., and who was Tetrarch of Abilene; but no Lysanias is known to us from historical sources other than St. Luke, save a Lysanias who was king of the Ituræans and was put to death by Antony in the year 34 B.C. Josephus, it is true, *Ant.* XIX. v. 1, speaks of an "Abila of Lysanias," and, *Ant.* XX. vii. 1, terms it "the tetrarchy of Lysanias." But, *Wars*, II. xi. 5, he speaks of this as "the kingdom of Lysanias;" hence his testimony is only a doubtful confirmation of St. Luke's statement. In the above inscription however we find a Lysanias mentioned definitely as Tetrarch.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But see on the other hand *R.B.* October, 1913, p. 617, and January, 1921, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> See *R.B.* October, 1912, pp. 536-540.

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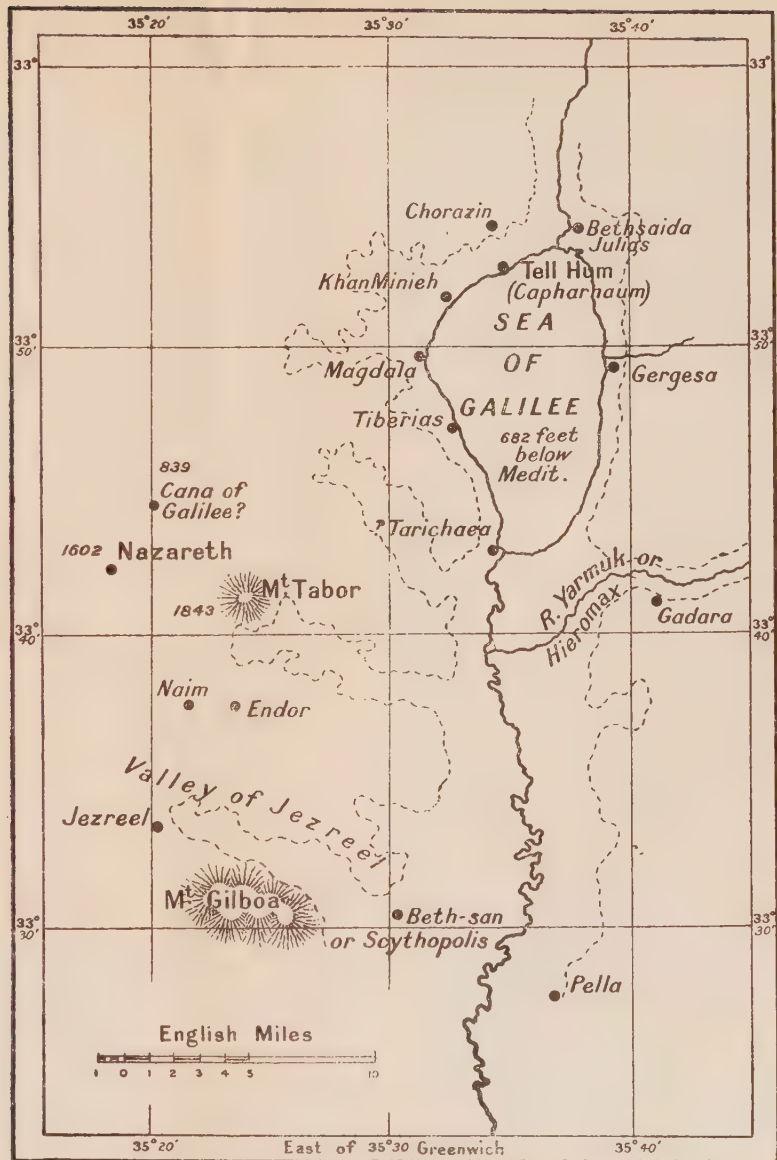
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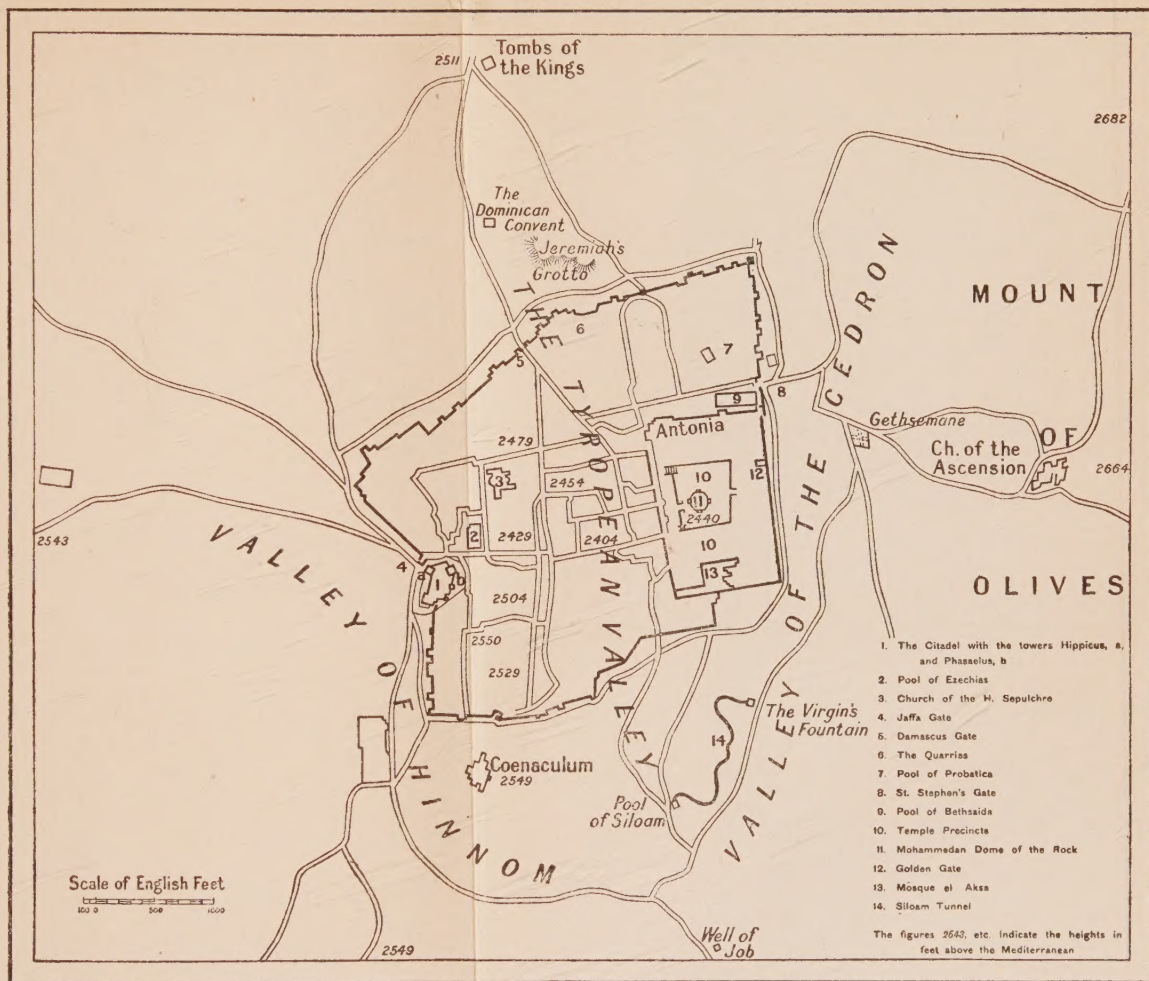






2. THE SEA OF GALILEE WITH THE SURROUNDING DISTRICT.





3. JERUSALEM IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.



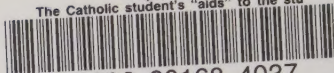




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